STUDIES IN ANCIENT TAMIL LAW & SOCIETY

Studies in Ancient Tamil Law and Society

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DR. R. NAGASWAMY

Printed at the Departmental Press,

Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology.

Dedicated to the memory of my father

U. N. RAMACHANDRAN

who initiated me in the study of
the Vedas, Indian lore, and the Dharma Sastras.

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PREFACE

Inscriptions are the main source for reconstructing the history and culture of the ancient people. For the past one hundred years when the study of Epigraphy has received attention, greater emphasis was laid on the political history of our country, a frame work which is essential for the proper understanding of social, religious and cultural history. Now that this has been achieved to a great extent, it is now necessary to analyse these inscriptions to let us have a glimpse beyond the political horizon. Still there are many problems of absorbing interest regarding the accession of rulers, like whether one ruler ascended a few years earlier or later, which I leave for consideration of more competent scholars than myself. Presiding over one of the Seminars organised by the Tamilnadu State Archaeology Department, late Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri remarked "that these inscriptions should be studied from the point of view, of social cultural and administrative history. Some work has already been done and much more remains to be done. More new materials have come to light and these need evaluation". Following the footsteps of this great historian, an attempt is made in this work to analyse inscriptions from new angles. The main approach is that all these inscriptions are legal documents conforming to the various dictates of the dharma sāstras. Whether the ruler was a Pallava, Pandya, Chola or other Chief ain, there was an administrative uniformity, in respect of villages, guilds, civil courts etc. all deriving their authority from the dharma sāstras.

A eareful analysis of the stone inscriptions reveal that upto the middle of 10th century, by and large the drafting of the gifts or endowments are simple, precise and direct. Some exceptions are there, like the Copper plate grants and the inscriptions like the famous record of Parantaka at Uttaramerur. But these are only few. Rajaraja I (985-1014) was the first to initiate accurate and detail drafting, as found in his Tanjore inscriptions. The experience of the society in drafting such deeds and the transactions getting more and more complicated is reflected in the records. Signatures of all the parties, witnesses etc. are detailed which help us in understanding various members of the village assembly functioning at the time of the record.

Another point of interest is the care with which the conquests and ideals of their rule are recorded in the *prasasti* part of the Chola and the

later Pandya records upto almost the end of the 13th century A.D. But one thing stands out prominently namely the personality of the village assembly. It retained its individuality and its role is felt in every record. But with the coming of the Vijayanagar a different trend is clearly visible. The Vijayanagar records give invarably the Saka era, and other details that it is easy to calculate the date accurately. But the *prasasti* part of the Vijayanagar (except in rare cases) does not give either the victories or the ideals of the rulers, but repeat vain glories which had nothing to do with realities. The individuality of the village assembly gradually shows a decline. So do the drafting of the records. The guiding principles were still the *dharma sāstras*, but the political unrest, contributed to the gradual losening of its hold over the society. The Nayaks of Tanjore and the Nayaks of Madurai tried to uphold the path of the dharma sastras, but they were themselves the victims of this artifical halo. However, we find that the *dharma sastras* played a vital role in the Tamil society from 7th to almost the end of 17th century A.D. Its role in Sangam Tamil Society needs a seperate study.

This book carries a number of articles on various aspects of Tamil society mainly from the point of view of the dharma sāstras Some of the articles included here were published by me earlier in other Journals and some in Tamil. The articles on "Pay structure under Rajaraja", and 'an inscribed painting in Madurai temple" were published in the Hindu weekly edition, and I am thankful to the Editor for permitting me to include them in this collection The article on "South Indian temple as an employer" published in the Indian Economic and Social History Review Vol. II, No. 4, 1965. This article has evoked considerable interest and many foreign scholars have asked me for a reprint The same is included and I am thankful to the Editor of the journal for the same. The Chirrur copper plate of Nrpatunga was originally published by Dr. N. Ramesan in the Andhra Pradesh, Department of Archaeology series. A revised version is published here. It is hoped that the articles included in this work will open more avenues of research in the investigation of South Indian Epigraphy and Society.

I am thankful to Selvi. Padmavathy, Epigraphist of the Department for patiently going through the proofs and to Sri Chengalvaroyan and other members of the Departmental press for seeing the work through the press.

R. NAGASWAMY

Madras
Pongal day
14th Jan. 1978

NEW LIGHT ON CIVIL JUSTICE IN THE PANDYA PERIOD

Introduction

The disposal of law suits–both criminal and civil was the primary responsibility of the king in ancient India. He is the supreme judge of his country, and is expected to hear law suits daily as a part of his duty. Two interesting epigraphs from Tamil country, dating back to 8th – 9th centuries A.D. give us a glimpse into the disposal of civil suits by the king himself. Both of them relate to the early Pandya period. One is the celebrated Vēlvikkudi grant[1] of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan and the other is the Dalavaypuram grant[2] of Parāntaka Vīranārāyanan. Both the copper plates have been edited earlier, but have not been analysed from the point of view of legal administration. An attempt is made in this paper to analyse the plates from this angle which throws new light on the administration of civil justice in ancient Tamil land.

Most of the copper plates so far found belong to the class of documents known as *dānapatra* (gift deeds).

Kinds of documents

There are ten kinds of documents according to Vyāsa and Prajāpati.[3] They are :–

1.	*Upagata*	—	Receipts.
2.	*Ādhipatra*	—	Mortgage.
3.	*Krayapatra*	—	Sale deed.
4.	*Sthiti patra*	—	Perpetual conduct.
5	*Sandhipatra*	—	Compact.

1. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XVII pages 291-309.
2. T. N. Subramaniam Transactions of the Archaeological Society – 1962, p. 65.
3. B. Guru Raja Rao. Ancient Hindu Judicature–1920. P. 108.

6. *Vishuddhipatra* — Purificatory deed.
7. *Vibhāga patra* — Partition deed.
8. *Dāna patra* — Gifts.
9. *Dāsa patra* — Enslavement.
10. *Sīmā vivāda patra* — Settlement of boundary dispute

The Pallava copper plates and the Pāndya plates, excepting the two mentioned above, refer to gift of lands either to individuals or to institutions like temples. In all these cases the king makes the gift either himself in order to increase his merit, or at the request of others. But the Vēlvikkudi grant and the Dalavāypuram grant belong to a different class of royal records, In both the cases, gift of lands were made by one of the ancestors of the ruler; but the lands were subsequently lost by the descendants of the donees, who appealed to the Kings directly. Having examined the cases the Kings restored the lands to the descendants of the original donees. Thus they relate to the settlement of ownership right by the King in his capacity as a Supreme Judge. It would therefore be interesting to examine both the records in terms of ancient legal administration as reflected in the Dharma Sastras.

Velvikkudi Grants

The Vēlvikkudi grant of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan, consists of two parts, the sanskrit and tamil parts (like the other copper plates). The sanskrit portion stops with the listing of the genealogy of Parāntaka. The tamil part begins straight away with the details of the appeal - that the village Velvikkudi was gifted to one Narkoṟṟan also known as Korkai Kiḻān, by the Pāṇḍya ruler, Palyāgasālai Mudukudumip peruvaḻudi, when he completed a Yāga (*Vēlvi*). It is said that the village was in the long possession of the donee (*nīdu bhukti tuyttapin*) when the Kali king, named Kalabhra, who overthrew a number of rulers (*Ādhirājas*), deprived the donees of the enjoyment of the village.

A descendant of the donee, whose name is given as Koṟkai Kiḻān-Kāmakkāni Narasingan, went to the palace of the Pāṇḍya ruler, Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan, at Kūdal and shouted at the outskirts (*ākrōdhikka*). The King himself heard this appeal, called him in

தினமலர் 22-11-92

கி.பி. 9ம் நூற்றாண்டை சேர்ந்த காளி, கேட்டை சிலைகள் கண்டுபிடிப்பு

நெல்லிக்குப்பம், நவ. 22—

கி.பி.9ம் நூற்றாண்டை சேர்ந்த காளி, கேட்டை உருவச்சிலைகள் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டன.

இதுபற்றிய விபரம் வருமாறு:

தென்ஆற்காடு செஞ்சிக்கு வடக்கே சுமார் 25 கி.மீ. தொலைவில் தொண்டூர் என்ற கிராமம் உள்ளது.

மாவட்ட கலெக்டர் ராமகிருஷ்ணன் வழிகாட்டுதலின் பேரில் கின்றன. வலது கை தூக்கியபடியும், விரலில் தாமரைமொக்கும் உள்ளது.

இடது கை, கால்தொடைப்பகுதி வரை உள்ளது. கையின் இரண்டு விரல்களில் ஒரு உருவத்தின் தலையை பிடித்து இருப்பதுபோல வடிவமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

வலது பக்கம் கைக்குக்கீழே ஆட்டுத்தலை உருவமும் மேலே காகமும் காட்டப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

கின்றனர்.

நான்குகைகள் உள்ள இச்சிலையின் வலது மேல் கை சூலத்தை குறிப்பதாகவும், கீழ்க்கை அபயத்தை குறிப்பாகவும் கூறுகின்றனர். இடது மேல் கையில் சங்கும், கீழ்க்கை-கால் தொடையின் மீதும் வைத்தவாறு வடிவமைக்கப்பட்டு உள்ளது.

நின்றநிலையில் உள்ளதாக அமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ள இச்சிலை

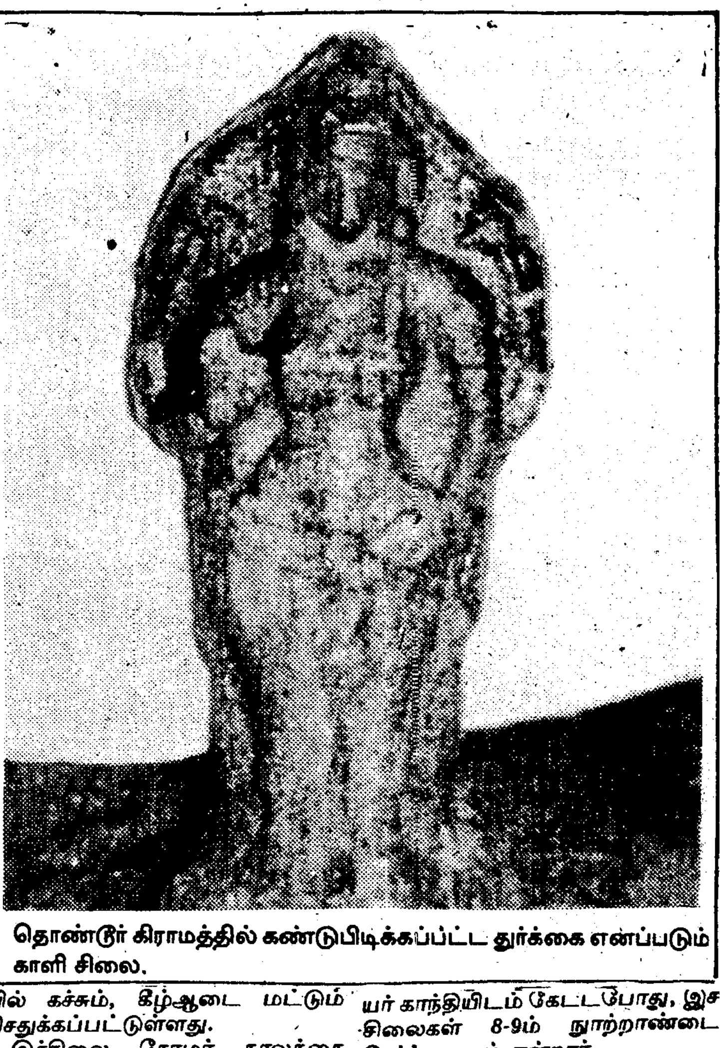
லும் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

இதை முகமாரி தெய்வம் என்று தொண்டூர் மக்கள் கூறுகின்றனர். இதில் கல்வெட்டும் உள்ளது.

கல்வெட்டு குறித்து ஆராயப்பட்டு வருகிறது.

இச்சிலைகள் பற்றி தெ.ஆ.ம. வட்ட அருங்காட்சியக காப்பாட்

கேட்டை, சேட்டை எனப்படும் மூதேவி சிலை.



தொண்டூர் கிராமத்தில் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்ட துர்க்கை எனப்படும் காளி சிலை.

புதுவை வரலாற்று சங்க உறுப்பினர் அனந்தபுரம் கிருஷ்ணமூர்த்தி தொண்டூரில் ஆய்வு மேற்கொண்டார்.

தொண்டூர் தொடக்கப்பள்ளிக்கு மேற்கே உள்ள மலைபகுதியின் கீழ் பகுதியில் , காளி உருவச்சிலையும் சேட்டை, கேட்டை என்று அழைக்கப்படும் மூதேவி உருவச் சிலையும் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டது.

சேட்டை எனப்படும் சிலையில் நீண்ட இரண்டு கைகள் காணப்படு

இடது பக்கம் நிற்கும் பெண் உருவத்திற்கு மேல் ஆயுத வடிவில் ஒரு கருவியும் (சுத்தியல் போன்று) செதுக்கப்பட்டிருப்பது புதுமையாக இருக்கிறது.

இச்சிற்பம் 150 செ.மீ. உயரமும் 79 செ.மீ. அகலமும் உள்ளது. இந்த சேட்டை சிலைக்கு ஆடையாக பாவாடை மட்டும் கட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது.

அடுத்து காளி சிற்பம். இதனை வைணவி, துர்கை என்றும் அழைக்

யில் கச்சும், கீழ்ஆடை மட்டும் செதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

இச்சிலை சோழர் காலத்தை சேர்ந்தது என கருதப்படுகிறது. 88 செ.மீ. உயரமும் 46 செ.மீ. அகலமும் உள்ளது.

இங்குள்ள மற்றொரு கல்லில் + (பிளஸ்) என்ற அடையாளமும் அதை சுற்றி வட்டமும் உள்ளது. வட்டத்தின் 4 பக்கமும் சூலக்குறியும், கீழ்ப்பகுதியில் நீண்ட கோடும் உள்ள மற்றொரு சூலக்கல்

யர் காந்தியிடம் கேட்டபோது, இச சிலைகள் 8-9ம் நூற்றாண்டை சேர்ந்ததாகும் என்றார்.

மசஞ்சு வடிவேல், அக்கீம் ஆகியோர் உதவியால் தொண்டூர், பஞ்சனார்பாடி மலைப்பகுதியில் கல் திட்டை ஒன்றும் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

இவை பற்றிய ஆய்வுகள் நடந்து வருகின்றன.

and enquired into the matter. The appellant told the king that after they were deprived of their enjoyment (Kaḍungon, Avani sūlāmani, Seḷiyan Sendan, Arikesari, Koccaḍayan and Rājasimhan), six Pāndya rulers had passed away. "This land was given by your ancestor Mudukuḍimi Peruvaḷudi. The name of the village is Velvikkudi situated in Pākanūrkūṟṟam (territorial subdivision). This was removed by the Kalabhras" appealed Narasingan. On hearing this, the King asked the appellant to produce evidence that this was actually in their possession. நாட்டானின் பழமையாதல் காட்டி நீ கொள்க. There upon the appellant showed evidence to prove his rights. The king having satisfied himself, ordered at the spot itself that the village gifted by his ancestor was reconfered by him as well. (மேனுள் எம்குரவரால் பன்முறையில் தரப்பட்டதை எம்மாலுந்தரப் பட்டது என்று நீரோட்டி கொடுத்தமையில்)

The copper plate then details the boundaries of the village and mentions Mūvendamangalapperaraiyan as the *Āgnapti* of the grant.

A few words used in this text are clearly legal terms employed in dharma sāstras.

Nidu Bhukti

In describing the village gifted, it is said that it was in their enjoyment for long *Nīḍu Bhukti*. *Bhukti* enjoyment (possession) is considered an important evidence in civil suits. The disputing party, when called upon should produce valid evidence (*Pramāna*) to prove his case. " Proof is of two kinds. 1. Human (*mānushika*) and 2. Divine (*Daivika*), Human proof is furnished by a) Documents (*likhita*), b) Witness (*Sākshi*) and 3. Enjoyment (*Bhukti*). The divine proof consists of ordeals.

"*Bhukti* (enjoyment comes therefore foremost as a mode of proof in respect of rights to immovable property generally. As possession is an incident of owership it is recognised as a mode of proof of ownership. Hārita, describes title as the root and possession (*Bhukti*) as the branch of a tree. Mere possession however, is not proof of ownership. It is legal tittle Āgama, such as is required by gift, purchase etc. that really confers ownership. Such a title has greater validity than mere possession in determining ownership. According to Yāgnavalkya, title

however perfect, if unaccompanied by slight possession is of no value. Possession is insisted on by Kātyāyana and Brhaspati also for completing the legal title deeds. But in the case of mere enjoyment from generation to generation it is valid proof of ownership by itself though unaccompanied by proof of title. As such long possession raises the presumption of legal title. This exception applies only in cases of enjoyment for a period lasting beyond the memory of man or man's memory. In the case of immemorial enjoyment or for over three generations, it is not possible to trace the existence or otherwise of title as the origin of possession and therefore mere possession is recognised as a mode of proof." [1]

In the case of Velvikkudi grant, the owners have been deprived of their property for over six generations. There were two valid proofs. 1. documents which the descendants were able to produce. In the deed it is refered to as '*Nāttānin Paḷamaiyānatu*'. It probably refers to the records in the country accounts that it belonged to the family of Korkai Kiḷāns. It is not known whether the original *dānapatra* was lost or confiscated. In its absense the country accounts were shown as valid proof. 2. The second evidence was the actual enjoyment for a long period (*Nīḍu bhukti*). The use of the word '*bhukti*' in the Velvikkudi grant clearly indicates its legal implication. As two valid *Pramānas* were shown, the king had no hesitation in confering the title back on the descendants.

In describing the Pāndya ruler, Parāntaka, who heard the case, and confered back the gift, the following significant titles are used. *Manūpaman, Kanṭakanishṭuran,* and *Gūḍha Nirnayan,* which are terms associated with Dharma. In the Srivaramangalam plates, the same ruler is described as 'one following the path of *Manudarsana,* who extolled elders and did '*Kanṭaka sodhana*'.

"Kautilya's *Artha Sāstra* describes two classes of courts called *Dharmasthīya* and '*Kanṭaka sodhana*' as prevelant at that time. The Dharmasthīya courts had jurisdiction over the administration of civil and criminal justice in respect of ordinary matter. The *Kanṭaka sodhana* which consisted of three commissioners seem to have exercised special jurisdiction over matters of commerce and industry and prevention of

1. *Ibid* – pp. 61-63.

breach of peace and determination of grave offences against the state. They saw to the enforcement of contracts among artisans and to the regulation of their wages and kept constant vigilance over the detection and prevention of heinous crimes "[1] In the famous Uttaramerur inscription of Parantaka '*grāmakaṇṭakas*' criminals who have turned against the village are referred to.[2] The fact that Pāṇḍya Neḍunjaḍaiyan performed "*Kaṇṭaka sodhana*" himself shows that the concept was well known in Tamil country in 8th century and the king himself headed that council to hear heinous crimes against the state.

However, in the Velvikkudi grant, one point namely why the appeal was not prefered earlier, and why the descendants waited for nearly six generations is not clear.

Dalavaypuram Plates

The Dalavaypuram plates of Parāntaka Vīranārāyana also refers to a dispute. In this case the gifted land was misappropriated and an appeal was made to the king. The king restored the right which is the purport of the grant.

The Dalavaypuram plates also consists of two parts, the first in sanskrit and the second in tamil language. Unlike the Velvikkudi grant, the dispute and the decision are recorded both in the Sanskrit and Tamil parts. Sanskrit portion is interesting because of its terminology.

The case is briefly as follows. The Pāṇḍya ruler Kaḍumgon gifted a village Srimangalam as a *brahmadeya* to twelve Brahmins. Another Pāṇḍya ruler, whose name is not mentioned but who is said to have died at Kaḷudur is said to have gifted the village Somāsikuricchi to one Kāṭaka Somayāji who became an exclusive owner of the *Brahmadēyā*. But both the *dānapatras*, (the copper plates) were lost during troubled conditions (*marakkeḍu*) (probably referring to Kalabhra occupation). Part of this Somāsikurucchi was subsequently seperated by a Sudra who appropriated it to himself under the new name Madhuratara nallur.

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1. *Ibid* - pp. 8.
2. Epi. Indi. Vol. XXII

The Appeal

So the appeal was prefered to the King. The appellant was one Nārāyanan Kēsavan of Sōmāsikkurucchi, who served as a confidential officer of the Pāndya, Vīranārāyanā- The appeal was that:-

1. the new Village Madhurataranallur should be restored to Sōmāsikkurucchi,

2. The new Sudra occupant should be expelled from the land and

3. The boundaries of the villages Srimangalam and Sōmāsikkurucchi which are mixed up should be redefined and the two villages clubbed together and a copper plate charter issued confirming the grant.

The king immediately agreed and ordered accordingly. Neither in the sanskrit portion nor in the tamil portion, there is any mention of the production of evidence. The king did not ask for any evidence at all. Atleast the charter is not specific on this issue. The person Nārāyanan Kēsavan who appealed, is refered to as a highly learned and a great scholar in political science *Kshatramatam unarntu* and was a person of pure and high integrity (*suddha sīla ācāran*) and above all was a trustworthy officer serving the king விஸ்வாச கர்மங்கட்காய தன்மையன் (*Visvāsa Karmangatkāya tanmaiyan.*) In view of the fact that the appellant was a trustworthy person and also an officer of high integrity, the ruler should have decided the case considering him also as a *sākshi*. However, the land was not claimed by the appellant to himself but on behalf of the village assembly of Srimangalam and Sōmāsikkurucchi. The king giving the order is mentioned as *Manucaritan* which is interesting.

Sah Sōmāsikkurucchi iti khyātah-tasya eka desa bhūh Madhurasthāna sadgrāma nāmnā sūdrābhilanghitā. Tam ācchidya tatah pūrva svāmibhogyam prakalpya ca, tasyāh sūdrakrita ākhyānavyāvrkittm upapādya ca, tadēkibhūta Sōmāsikkurucchih ekatām saha Srimangalena sampādya Suddhapustakalekhayāat grāmānvaya paurastya tāmrapaṭṭa pramānayoh nāsadoshanirākartum tayoh ca ekatva buddhaye aikyena gramayoh kritvā simānam karinipadaih tāmrapaṭṭa pramānanca kalpayitva dīyatām. (D. Plates line 43 to 47.)

In this case the Officer should be considered a *sākshi* - witness. According to Narada, King and King's Officers could be made sākshi.

Here the king's officer Nārāyanan kēsavan is to be considered a witness, for he is described as belonging to a good family and follower of *srauta* and *smārta* path (*Srauta Smārta adhvagena*). According to Yāgnavalkya, *srauta smārta kriyaparā* (followers of *srauta* and *smārta* path) *satyavādi Kulīnas,* etc. are to be considered as witnessess. It is interesting that in the copper plate the same words as *srauta smārta advaga* occurs.

In Case of loss of Document

When the document is in another country, wrougly drafted eaten away by ants, stolen, broken, burnt or lost, another document should be prepared.[1]

भिन्ने दग्धेऽथवा छिन्ने लेख्ये अन्यत् तु कारयेत्

देशान्तरस्थे दुर्लेख्ये नष्टोन्मृष्टे हृते तथा

When the document is lost, a new one should be prepared which is called *suddhi.*

In the Dalavaypuram plate, the document is lost and the ownership was in dispute. So the document has to be prepared a new which is called in dharma sastra *Sandhigdha lekhya suddhi*[2]. In this copper plate the same term is found used as *suddha pustaka lekhayā.* Further in the D. P. Charter, the loss is called *Nāsadosha,* and the Suddhi was intended to remove this defect, refered to in the copper plates as *nāsa dosha nirākartum.* The request in the D.P. is mentioned as *Tāmrapaṭṭa pramānam kalpayitva dīyatām.* Here also the technical term *pramāna* is used in a legal sense. The king is said to have got it written on a copper plate *tāmrapaṭṭa.*

In the Tamil portion of the plates the king is requested to issue a *sāsana.*

"According to Nārada, there are four ways of terminating a *vyavahāra* or dispute.

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1. Yagnya Valkya - Lekhya V. 91.
2. Yagnya Valkya - V. 92.

They are 1. *Dharma*-abstract justice, 2. *Vyavahāra*-decision after contest, 3. *Caritra* - written law and 4. *Rāja Sāsanam.* - Order of the king. The command of the king which is not repugnant to sacred law or natural justice becomes the final word.[1] The word used in this case is *Rājasāsana* and the Tamil portion of the copper plates uses the same terminology and in this case the king's sāsana was to be the last word.

Vyavahara Nirnaya

Thus it is seen, that both the Velvikkudi and the Dalavaypuram grants belong to the *vyavahāra nirnaya* class of *dānapatras* unlike the other copper plates. They clearly indicate that as early as eighth century A.D. the kings adopted in Tamil country the tenets of *dharma sāstras* in deciding disputes. This would also show in the day to day purchase, pledge, and all other transactions relating to property etc. the *dharma sāstras* were the guiding texts and this goes in accordance with the repeated assertion of the rulers that they were followers of Manu. This clearly prove that though different parts of India were ruled by different dynasties, often fighting with each other, in matters of civil and administrative justice they followed all over the country only the *dharma sāstras.* which is of utmost importance for the study of cultural unity of India.

1. Ancient Hindu Judicature p. 23-24.

A NEW PANDYA RECORD AND THE DATES OF NAYANMARS AND ALWARS

An important Pāṇḍya lithic record, perhaps the earliest to have been noticed so far in the city of Madurai, was brought to light from the bed of the Vaigai river in 1961. This is now preserved in the Madurai temple museum. It has been edited by Sri K. G. Krishnan, Superintending Epigraphist-Government of India, in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. I. In his article[1] Sri Krishnan, draws our attention to many points of interest and assigns this epigraph to one of the early Pāṇḍya kings Cēndan who ruled in the first half of the 7th Century A.D.

I had occasion to examine this epigraph recently and prepare an estampage. Sri Krishnan's reading needs revision at some places which is attempted in this paper. The main amendment to Krishnan's reading relates to the name of the king in line eight of the epigraph. Krishnan reads *Kōc Cēndan maṟṟaimpadu* (கோச்சேந்தன் மற்றைம்பது). The word after Cēndan has been read has *maṟṟai* i. e. 'and', consequently it is taken to stand for the 50th regnal year of Kōc Cēndan. The ruler is identified with Cēndan, the son and successor of Māravarman Avanisūḷāmani.

The revised reading according to me would be "*Kōc Cēndan Māṟan-aimpadu*" which means the 50th regnal year of **Cendan Maran, son of Cendan** and not in the reign of Cēndan himself.

The Revised reading

1. பாண்டிய குலமணி பிரதீபனுய் ப்ராதுர் பாவஞ் செ
2. ய்து விக்ரமங்களாலரை சடக்கி மறங்
3. கெடுத் தறம்பெருக்கி அக்ராஹாரம் பல
4. செய்த பரிமிதமாகிய ஹிரண்யகர்ப கோ
5. ஸகஸ்ர துலாபாரத்து மஹாதாநங்களாற்
6. கலிகடிந்து மங்கலபுரந் நகரமாக்கி வீ

1. K. G. Krishnan, 'Madurai Inscription of Pandyan Chendan; *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXXVIII-Pt. I, 1969, pp. 27-32.

7. ற்றிருந்து செங்கோனடாவா நின்ற கோச்சே
8. ந்தன் மாறனைம்பதாவது ராஜ்ய ஸம்வத்ஸர
9. ஞ் சொல்லா நிற்க வைகை சொம் மதகு ப
10. டுத் தரிகேஸரியானெனப் பியரிட்டு காறெடு
11. வித்து காஞுண்ணைத இடை அடைத்து
12. . . . .

I give the rsvised reading for the following reasons. The first letter is long *mā* and not short *ma*. Krishnan himself has noticed the presence of the long *ā* sign, added to the letter *ma*, and says in the foot note that this may be ignored. The form must be retained as it is present and is to be read *mā*. The second letter in the word is read as pure consonant *r*, But as pure consonants are marked with dots (*pullis*) in this epigraph and no dot is present in this letter, it is to be read as *ra* with the medial *a*. The third letter is *nai* and not *rai*, The form *rai* has a slightly different form as could be seen from copper plate [1] charters of the Pāndyas. Thus the word will have to be read as *mā ra nai* (*m ba tu*). The revised reading of this line is *Kōc Cēndan Māṛan aimpatu* (கோச் சேந்தன் மாறனைம்பது.)

The first part of the epigraphists the exploits of the king in whose reign the record was issued. Of the exploits of the king, the following deserve special notice. The king is said to have established many *agrahāra*, and performed *mahādānas* like *hiranyagarbha*, *tulābhāra* and *gōsahasra*. He is also said to have established Mangalapura as a *nagara*. Sri Krishnan has taken these exploits as those of Cēndan. But according to the revised reading the epithets are that of Māṛan.

From Copper plates [2] of the Pandyas, like the Velvikkudi. and smaller Sinnamanur plates we find that Cēndan's son was a great ruler, who performed many *hiranyagrabha* and *tnlābhāra* ceremonies. The performances of *hiranyagarbha* and *tulaābhāra* are invariably attributed to Māran in all the copper plates and not to Cēndan. This revised reading confirms the information gleaned from copper plates.

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1. *Ten Pandya Copper Plates*. Madras.
2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp 49-51.

Māṟan, the son of Cēndan had many significant titles such as *Arikēsari.*[1] The epigraph under discussion, refers to a *madagu* (sluice) constructed in the Vaigai river, which was named *Arikēsari*, after one of his own titles. This is a further confirmation that the ruler was Māṟan.

From the above it is evident that the ruler is identical with Arikesari, Parānkusa, Māravarman, the son of Cēndan. The Vaigai bed epigraph makes it clear that Māravarman ruled for fifty years. His rule is to be placed between 650 A.D. to 700 A.D. Three powerful predecessors, Kaḍuṇgōn, Māravarman Avanisūlāmani and Cēndan, have occupied the Pāndya throne before him. We may assign an average of 30 years to each and place the beginning of the first Pāndya empire about 560 A.D. Kōccaḍayan Ranadhīran, Māravarman Rājasimhan and Parāntaka Varaguna, ascended the throne in succession, after Arikesari Māravarman. With the help of Kali era mentioned in Varaguna's epigraph it has been established that he accended the throne in 765 A.D.[2] Kōccaḍayan Ranadhīra and Māravarman Rājasimha ruled for about 65 years after Arikesari. Thus Arikesari's rule is to be placed between 650-700 A.D.

PANDYAN EMPIRE

GENEALOGICAL SCHEME

Name of the Kings	K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his S. Indian History	Now being Revised
Kadungon	590—620 A.D.	560—590
Maravarman Avanisulamani	620—645	590—620
Cendan	645—670	620—650
Arikesari Parankusa Maravarman	**670—700**	**650—700**
Koccadaiyan Ranadhiran	700—730	700—730
Maravarman Rajasimhan		730—768
Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan	730—765	
Varagunan I	765—815	768—815
Srimara Srivallabha	815—862	815—862
Varaguna II	862	862

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India 1966*, pp. 152.
2. *Periya Puranam* by Sekkilar. Ninra Sir Nedumaran Puranam.

This brings us to an important factor. Siruttondar the saint whom Jnānasambandar met at Thirucchengattankudi, is identified with the commander of Mamalla Narasimha (630-668) in his Vatapi wars. Jannāsambandar should have lived betwcen 640 and 655 A.D. The Pāṇḍya ruler whom Sambandar converted from Jainism to Saiva faith was a certain Neḍumāṛan also known as Kūn Pāṇḍya. Traditional literature[1] ascribe to him a great victory at Nelveli and this earned him the title *Nelveli venra Neḍumāran* i. e. Neḍumāra the victor of Nelveli. It is evident that the monarch who was ruling at the time of Sambandar's visit to Madurai was none other than Māṛan, the son of Cēndan, of the Vaigai bed epigraph.

I have pointed out elsewhere, that this Neḍumāṛan is identieal with the hero of the Tamil literary work *Pandikkovai* which also enumarates all these exploits. His titles as Arikesari Parānkusa, and Neḍumāṛa, his conquest of Nelveli, and the performance of *hiranyagarbha* and *tulābahra* are listed in the Tamil work, Pandikkovai. Thus the author of the Vaigai-bed epigraph is identical with the hero of Pāṇḍikkovai.

This epigraph mentions that Cēndan Māṛan established Mangalapura as a nagara. On this Sri Krishnan has made two suggestions. 1) The Mangalapura established by this ruler should be in Pāṇḍya territory and is likely to be Mangalam near Sattur. This suggestion, can be finally settled after the present village is examined for its antiquity and 2) Sri Krishnan identifies this Mangalapura with Mangalapura, conquered by Koccadaiyan Ranadhira, the son and successor of Arikesari.

The Vēlvikkudi grant states that Koccaḍaiyan Ranadhīra the son of Arikesari Māravarman attacked the Mahārathas at Mangalapura and won a decissive victory. This Mangalapura has been identified with Mangalore in the west coast by Professor K. A. Nīlakanta Sastri.[2] Dr. K. V. Ramesh in his recent book on History of South Kanara has pointed out, that Ālupas who were holding sway over Mangalore and who were aided by the Chalukyan forces faced this invasion at Mangalore.

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1. R. Nagaswamy: 'Pandya Arikesari and Pandikkovai', K A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume pp. 108-111.

2. The Pandyan Kingdom.

On the other hand Krishnan is of the opinion that the Pāndyas did not invade Mangalore in the west coast, but were defending their own city of Mangalapura near Sattur against the invasion of the Chalukya forces in 674 A.D. The identity of Mangalapura, captured by Ranadhīra with Mangalapura established by Cēndan Māran as proposed by Krishnan is not acceptable for the following reasons. The Chalukyas never penetrated so far south as Sattur taluk of Ramnad District. The battle of Mangalapura in which Ranadhīra distinguished himself, is identified with the invasion of Chalukya Vikramaditya in 674 A.D. by Krishnan. We have shown that the Vaigai bed inscription is a record of Cēndan Māran, who ruled for 50 years. His rule should have extended upto 700 A.D. Even if we allow some period of joint rule, Ranadhīra's conquest of Mangalapura cannot be placed before 700 A.D. Vikramaditya's expedition, being decidedly a quarter of a century earlier had nothing to do with Ranadhīra's conquest.

In view of the fact that the Alupas of west coast ruling around Mangalore, claimed Pāndya lineage, and used the fish as their emblem, it is evident that Ranadhīra's conquest related to the capture of Mangalore, which left a permanent mark on the ruling dynasty there.

Dates of Saiva Saints

This brings us to an important field of enquiry, namely the date of some of the Ālvārs and Nāyanmārs. Before proceeding to examine this question in the light of new findings, it is necessary to notice a recent work on this subject. Sri K. R. Srinivasan and following him K. R. Venkatrama Iyer in their latest publication, *'Dēvi Kāmākshi in Kānchi,'* have discussed the dates of Appar and Sambandar in detail. In this work Appar's date of birth is taken as 665 A.D. and he is not considered a contemporary of Mahendravarman. Sambandar's date of birth is assigned to the close of 7th century, that is about 700 A.D.

A careful study of the above work shows that the views of the above authors are self contradictory and untenable. The following are the few.

1) No mention is made of Thiruchirappalli inscription of Mahendravarman, which is an important source for dating the Saivite saint Appar.

2) It is stated that Tilakavatiyār, the sister of Appar was betrothed to Kaliyanār (p. 65). This is wrong. Kaliyanār was a different saint who lived in Thiruvorriyur and was an oil merchant. Tilakavatiyār was betrothed to Kalippagaiyār.

3) It is stated that Kaliyanār was ordered to the front to fight against the invading northerners, the Chalukyas. There is no evidence to show that the northerners mentioned in Periyapuranam, were Chalukyas. They could be anybody. The dates assigned to the Nāyanārs are solely based on this assumption.

4) Three different dates are given to Appar in the same book. In page 66, his date of birth is given as 665 A.D.; in page 70, the beginning of Appar's period is given as 660 A.D. and again in page 74, it is given as 650 A.D.

5) Regarding the age of Sambandar it has been said that he was born at the close of 7th Century, about the time when Narasimha II, ascended the Pallava throne (700–728) and lived upto the middle of Nandivarman Pallavamalla's reign. If Sambandar was born in C. 700 A.D., he would have died in 716 A.D. in the reign of Rajasimha himself. The middle of Nandi's reign would be 765 A.D., which would mean Sambandar lived for more than 65 years. Unless such a long life is given to Sambandar, for which there is no evidence, it is difficult to sustain this date.

6) It has been stated that when Appar met Sambandar at Sirkali, soon after later's *upanayana*, he was sufficiently advanced in age. According to the same book, Appar's date of birth is 665 and that of Sambandar is C. 700 A.D. Sambandar's *upanayanam* was then performed in his 8th year, in 708 A.D. In that year Appar would be about 43 years of age which is certainly not an old age.

7) It has been stated that Sambandar converted the Pāṇḍya ruler Neḍumāran to Saivism, and he is identified with Māravarman Rājasimha, the father of Neḍunjaḍaiyan. This synchronism is also not possible according to the author's own stand, for he assigns Rājasimha to C. 730–768 A.D. According to him, Sambandar was born in 700 A.D. If Sambandar lived for only 16 years, he could not have converted the ruler who came to the throne in 730 A.D.

The inconsistencies have cropped up because the contemporary of Sambandar is taken to be Māravarman Rājasimha. In the light of this new inscription of Cēndan Māran, the views expressed by K. R. Srinivasan needs revision.

The Periyapurāna of Sekkilar and the Guruparampara are all Purānas, which take one or two episodes from the life of the saints and weave beautiful myths around them. We must therefore be careful in utilising them for reconstructing history. Episodes corroborated by epigraphical or archæological source alone should be taken into account and the rest left out to the realm of religious faith.

Date of Appar

One episode that needs examination is the conversion of the Pallava contemporary of Appar, from Jainism to Saivism. It must be seen whether there is any evidence to support this. All scholars assign Appar to the 7th century, though some would assign him to the first half of 7th century, and others to the second half. Mahendra I, Narasimha I, Mahēndra II, Paramesvara I, and probably Rājasimha were the Pallava rulers of the 7th century A.D. We do have an epigraphical reference to conversion of a Pallava in 7th century A.D., and this occurs in the Mahēndra's inscription at Tiruchirappalli in which Mahēndra states that he changed to the Saiva faith from some other faith. No other Pallava of 7th century was a convert. Thus the tradition is corroborated by epigraphical evidence and should thus be considered an indisputable evidence testifying to the contemporaneity of Appar with Mahēndra I. Recent discoveries have shown, that Mahendra ruled for 40 years (590–630). So Appar may be assigned to Circa 580–660 A.D.

Date of Sambandar

Appar and Jnānasambandar were contemporaries according to all accounts. Jnānasambandar is said to have converted the Pandya ruler Niṉrasīr Neḍumāran to Saivism from Jaina faith. Literature refers to Neḍumāran as the victor of Nelveli. From the Velvikkudi & Sinnamanur copper plates we do get a Pānḍya Māran in 7th century who is praised for his victory at Nelveli.

Some scholars identify him with Māran, the son of Cēndan while others identify him with Māravarman Rājasimha I, the son of Ranadhīra.

It is therefore necessary to discuss this problem in detail. Scholars like K. V. S. Ayyar, T. V. Sadasivapandarathar and M. Raghava Iyengar have given the titles Arikēsari and Parānkusa to Rājasimha I, without any evidence as a result of which some scholars like K. R. Venkatrama Iyer and K. R. Srinivasan try to hold that Jnānasambandar was a contemporary of Pāndya Rājasimha I. None of the copper plates of the Pāndyas give the title Arikēsari or Parānkusa to Rājasimha. On the contrary only one ruler Māran, son of Cēndan is given these titles. Some scholars assign even the conquest of Nelveli to Rājasimha I, but there is absolutely no evidence for this. As far as copper plates and literature are concerned the conquest of Nelveli is ascribed only to Māravarman, son of Cēndan.

The Vaigai bed inscription proves that Cēndan Māran ruled for 50 years and is to be assigned to circa 650–700 A.D. He was the only Nadumāran, the victor of Nelveli, who was a contemporary of Sambandar. Sambandar's date then would be circa, 640–656. This also shows that Siruttondar was a commander under Pallava Narasimha I and participated in his Vatapi conquest.

Date of Periyalvar

Among the Vaishnavite Ālvārs, Periyāḷvār refers in his verse to Pāndya Ko-Nedumāran.

கொன்னவில் கூர்வேற் கோன் நெடுமாறன்
    தென் கூடற் கோன்
தென்னவன் கொண்டாடும்
    தென் திருமாலிருஞ் சோலையே

That Periyāḷvār was a contemporary of Nedumāran is thus established. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri says that "all that we can infer is that if this Nedumāran is the same as the contemporary of Jnānasambandar, this Āḷvār may also be assigned to their age and likewise his daughter Āndāl. It seems more likely that the reference is to Srīmāra Srīvallabha". Srīmāra Srīvallabha is assigned to Circa 815–862. According to

Srīvallabha and this probably influenced the learned Professor to prefer the later date.

T. A. Gopinatha Rao in his 'History of the Sri Vaishnavas,' has suggested that Periyāḷvār was a contemporary of Srīmāra Srīvallalbha, identical with Srīvallabha Avanīpasēkhara of Sittannavasal inscription. Mr. Rao's conclusion is based on the identity of the name Srīvallabha, said to be a contemporary of Periyāḷvār according to Guruparampara.

M. Raghava Iyengar in his 'Age of the Āḷvārs' differed from Gopinatha Rao and held that the contemporary of Periyāḷvār was Māravarman Rājasimha father of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan. Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan was a *Parama Vaishnava* who erected a Vishnu temple at Kānchivāy Pērūr. Raghava Iyengar held that Parāntaka derived his Vishnubhakti from his father Māravarman Rājasimha and that Rājasimha should have been converted to Vaishnavism by Periyāḷvār.

While discussing the date of Periyāḷvār two points deserve to be carefully noted. (1) The saint himself refers to a Pāḍnya Kō-Neḍumāran as his contemporary. (2) The Guruparampara refers to a Pānḍya Srī vallabha as his contemporary. We must look for a Pandya who had both these titles. Srī Māra, the son of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan is called in the larger Sinnamanur and Dalavaypuram copper plates as Srīvallabha. Srīvallabha seems to have been his *abishekanāma*, but whether he had the title Kō-Neḍumāra was not proved so far by any epigraph.

An epigraph coming from Erukkangudi, Sattur taluk, Ramnad District, published recently throws valuable light on the problem. It refers to Pānḍya Srīvallabha who conquered the places from Kunnur to Ceylon. The point of interest in this epigraph is that this Srīvallabha is also called Kō-Neḍumāran.

"*அந்தரத்திஞேடியங்குஞ் சந்திராதித்தர் வழித் தோன்றி ஈண்டிய பெருந் தெய்வதிறல் பாண்டியர் பலர் கழிந்த பின்னை மற்றவர் தங்குலம் விளங்க வந்து தோன்றி மண் காத்துக் குன்னூர் முதல் சிங்களம் வரை கூடாத வ்யமன்னரை விண்ணூர்ப்புக வெகுண்டு வென்றிகளேய் பல விளைத்த தென்னவர்* கோநெடுமாறன் *செந்தனிக்கோல்* ஸ்ரீவல்லவன்." 44 SII·XIV.

According to Sinnamanur and Dalavaypuram plates, Srīmāra Srīvallabha, the son of Parāntaka Varaguna I, won significant victories at Kunnur, Vilinjam, Kumbakonam and Ceylon. The Erukkangudi, inscription is evidently that of Srīmāra Srīvallabha the son of Parāntaka Varaguna, and that he had also the title Kō-Neḍumāran.

There can hardly be any doubt that Periyāḷvār was a contemporary of this Kō-Neḍumāran Srīvallabha and should have florished in the 9th century A.D. On the other hand no epigraph has so far been found which gives either the title Srīvallabha or Kō-Neḍumāran to Rājasimha, whom Raghava Iyengar holds as the contemporary of Periyāḷvār. We therefore agree with T. A. Gopinatha Rao and K. A. N. Sastri, that the contemporary of Periyāḷvār was Srīmāra Srīvallabha and that the Vaishnavite Saint florished in the 9th century A.D. Anḍāl, the daughter of Periyāḷvār should also be assigned to the same period.

Date of Thirumangai

Scholars have discussed the problem of the date of Thirumangai Āḷvār in detail and have arrived at a satisfactory date. The date of this Āḷvār can be fixed with certain amount of accuracy as he refers to his contemporary Pallava ruler Nandi. Thirumangai lists his conquests which are corroborated by copper plates.

Thirumangai sings the battle of Mannai where Pallavamalla is said to have defeated the Pānḍya. This is also corroborated by another copper plate. In the Udayēndram plates, Nandi's general Udaya Chandra is praised for his victory over the Pānḍyasena at Mannaikkuḍigrāma. (*Mannaikkuḍigrāme Pāndyasēnām jitavān.*) Udayēndram plate was issued in the 21st regnal year of Nandi (752). The Pānḍya ruler who opposed Nandi was Māravarman Rājasimha.

Thirumangai also refers to the battle of Karuvūr in which the Pallava is said to have won.

உலகுடை மன்னவன் தென்னவனைக்
  கன்னி மாமதில்சூழ் கருவூர் வெருவ
பலபடை சாய வென்றான் பணிந்த
  பரமேச்சுர விண்ணகரமதுவே

A new evidence has come to light regarding the battle of Karuvūr which has not yet received due attention. The Dalavaypuram plates mention that Parāntaka Varaguna, defeated the Pallava at Karuvūr. (காடவனைக் கருவூரில் கால் கலங்க களிறுதைத்த கூடலர் கோன்) This gets indirect confirmation from another source. Sivaramangalam plates refers to Parāntaka's fight with Atiya, at Pugaliyur and Ayirur on the northern bank of the river Kaveri. These places are situated near Karur. The same charter also states, that Varaguna defeated the Pallava and Keralan, who came to help the Atiya. Evidently the battle of Pugaliyur was followed upto Karuvur where an indescive battle was fought. Both the Pallava and the Pāndya claim victory at Karuvur. Whatever the result of the war may be, one thing is certain, that Thirumangai who sings this battle, was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan.

Thus Thirumangai was a contemporary of two Pāndya rulers Rājasimha I and Neḍunjaḍaiyan. On the Pallava side, he was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. (731–796)

It must be mentioned that this Vaishnava Āḷvār, sings in one of his verse, Vairamēgha who is generally identified with Dantivarma Pallava, who ruled in the first half of 9th century A.D. Thirumangai is therefore taken to be a contemporary of Danti as well. But we have shown elsewhere that the title Vairamēgha was a title of Nandivarman himself. As such we may assign Thirumangai to the reign of Nandivarman. Thus Thirumangai's date may be taken as 730–800 A.D.

Date of Nammalvar

Almost, the same period must be assigned to Nammāḷvār. Nammāḷvār sings Varagunamangai, and Srivaramangalam, both places established by Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan. Madhurakavi is said to be a desciple of Nammāḷvār. A Madhurakavi occurs as a minister of Parāntaka I during the early years of his reign, as seen from the Anamalai epigraph. Madhura Kavi was dead at the time of Anamalai inscription. As such Nammāḷvār's end could be placed about 780 A.D. His date of birth would be circa 745 A.D. Nammāḷvār had two other names which are significant. He was called Parānkusa and Māran. In all probability the names Parānkusa and Māran were derived after Arikēsari Parānkusa Māravarman of

the Vaigai bed-epigraph. Vaishnavite tradition makes Thirumangai and Nammāḷvār contemporaries. Our studies also seem to point to the same direction. While the Guruparampara, makes Periyāḷvar, also a contemporary of Thirumangai and Nammāḷvar, our studies show that Periyāḷvar lived in the 9th century A.D.

The Vaigai bed inscription of Cēndan Māran has opened up new avenues of enquiry relating to the chronology of the early Pandyas and the history of Saivism and Vaishnavism in South India.

As a result of the above study the following are our conclusions:-

1) The Vaigai bed inscription is that of Cendan Maran who ruled atleast for 50 years (650-700 A.D.)

2) He was the hero of the Tamil work Pandikkovai.

3) The chronology of the early Pandyas could be placed at the beginning of about 560 A.D.

4) The city of Mangalapura established by Arikesari was located in the Pandya country.

5) But the Mangalapura where his son defeated the Maharatas is identical with Mangalore.

6) Appar was a contemporary of Mahendra, Mamalla and the Pandya Arikesari.

7) Appar's date would be circa 580-660 A.D.

8) Jnanasambandar was a contemporary of Mamalla I, and Pandya Arikesari Nedumaran.

9) Sambandar's date would be circa 640-656 A.D.

10) Thirumangai was a contemporary of Rajasimha and Nedunjadaiyan of the Pandyas and Nandivarman Pallavamalla and may be assigned between 700 and 800.

11) Nammalvar's date would be about 745 to 780 A.D.

12) Periyalvar was a contemporary of Sri Mara Srivallabha and his date would be Circa 800-885.

13) Andal is to be assigned to the second half of 9th century.

14) The Vaigai bed inscription is an important landmark in the history of Tamilnadu.

6054

MAHENDRA'S INSCRIPTION AT TIRUCHIRAPALLI

In a recent article "The philosophy of Mahendravarman's Thiruchirappalli Epigraph" published in "Studies in Indian Epigraph" vol. 3 1976 Michael Lockwood states "Nagaswamy is quite right that there is an error in the reading of the word "*Silākhara*" (P. 92.) I am glad that the above authors have accepted their error and agreed to my revised reading. They persist however in their folly, when they state 'This problem has not been solved by Nagaswamy's article either.' They want to solve a problem that does not exist at all, and in this they brand Hultsch as a misinterpretter of this inscription. They also conclude that it is 'Philosophy which has allowed us such an insight'. Before we examine the philosophy that gave their insight, it is necessary to state that, they make no reference at all to an article written by me on the subject, in 1971, in Dr. V. Raghavan felicitation volume, though they are discussing the very same points raised by me in that article. we have to take it that the omission is deliberate (see my article below and their note, especially the title *anumāna*).

Before I take up the examination of their views, I reproduce the article I wrote in Raghavan's felicitation volume.

'Mahendra's contribution to the development of South Indian culture is unparalleled in the field of art, music, painting and literature. He is the pioneer in propagating cave architecture in the Tamil country. His work on music is well-known. *Mattavilāsa–prahasana* composed by him is one of the best *prahasanas* in Sanskrit literature. His love of painting and his proficiency in the art is attested by his title *Chitrakārapuli*. Among the monuments he has left, the upper rock-cut cave at Tiruchirapalli, called *Lālitāṅkura-Pallaveśvara-gṛham*, named after one of his titles, is unique and is a landmark in the study of South Indian art and culture, for it is here that the best representation of sculpture of Mahendra is noticed in the Gaṅgādhara panel. There is here a unique example of Mahendra's inscription expressed in ornate poetry. The

second verse of this inscription has been a puzzle to students of history and art. It is in this his embrace of Śaivism is referred to.

A study of the second verse of Mahendra's inscription in this cave is as much fascinating as it is important for the study of Śiva worship in South India. A re-examination of this verse is all the more necessary since some recent writers have suggested that the installation of Śiva-liṅga in the sanctum sanctorum as the principal object of worship was unknown in the time of Mahendra. If the meaning of the second verse of Thiruchirapalli rock-cut cave is once properly understood, all doubts regarding the worship of Liṅga during the reign of Mahendra will be set at rest.

The verse under discussion reads as follows :

Guṇabhara-nāmani rāja-
 nyanena liṇgena liṅgini jñānam
Prathatām cirāya lōkē
 vipakśavṛttēh parāvṛttam

In the verse under discussion, that *ślesha* (*double entendre*) is employed is patent. There are therefore necessarily two meanings which are to be understood here. The words *Liṅga*, *Liṅgin*, *Jñāna* and *Vipakśa* have two meanings. Liṅga means Śivaliṅga and Liṅga means also *hetu*, reason, middle term or probans in an Inference. Since the word is employed in *ślesha*, both the meanings should be taken into account and one of the two viz., Śivaliṅga, should not be rejected as is done by the protogonists of the view that Liṅga worship was not prevalent during the time of Mahendravarman I. It is not only the word Liṅga that is used here in *ślesha* but the whole verse is, as stated above, in *ślesha* giving rise to two meanings. If one meaning alone is accepted and the other rejected, it would mean that the composition is faulty. When the second import is quite meaningful, to brand this verse as a faulty composition will not be proper. Hence in this case both the meanings have to be accepted.

The first meaning of the verse is as follows :

anena liṅgena : Through the Śivaliṅga (established) here.

Guṇabhara-nāmani rājani : in the king named Guṇabhara,

lingini : who bears the Linga (i.e. constantly adores Śiva)

jñānam : the knowledge

vipakshavṛtteh parāvṛttam : that he has turned away from the hostile faith

loke chirāya prathatām : let it become well known in the world for long.

There is a clear reference here to Mahendra's conversion, from Jainism to Śaivism in the words *Vipakshavṛtteh parāvṛttam.* There is also an unequivocal reference to the worship of Śivalinga in the terms *Linga* and *Lingin,* Lingin meaning one who bears the Linga, i.e. worships Linga.

The second meaning of the verse will become evident when it is understood in terms of the process of inference,[1] in which it is couched. The King Guṇabhara is given here as the *Lingin* and he is also the *Paksha* (the major and minor terms), i e. the subject or minor term in whom the *Sādhya* (probandum or major term) is sought to be proved or in other words, he who is sought to be proved as possessing the probandum, in this case knowledge, *jñāna,* related to Siva. If the date and antiquity of inscription is borne in mind, it could be appreciated.

1. Inferential cognition is accepted as a valid cognition by all systems of Indian philosophy. A syllogism employed in this process of cognition comprises the following elements:

(1) *Hetu* or *Linga* or the probans or the reason or the middle term e.g. smoke

(2) Sadhya or Lingin the probandum or major term which is to be established, e.g. fire.

(3) Paksha the subject in which the probandum is not known and is to be proved, e.g. a mountain as having fire when smoke which is noticed is relied upon as the probans.

(4) Sapaksha a similar instance in which the probandum is known for certain, e.g. hearth where smoke and fire had been seen together invariably.

(5) Vipaksha a counter example in which the non-existence of the probandum is known for certain e.g., a tank where neither fire nor its concomitant smoke is knewn

that the elements of the inference are stated here in the terminology of *prāchīna* (ancient) *nyāya* and not of modern logic. According to Gautama, the author of the *Nyāya sūtras*, the first limb of a syllogism, the statement of the thesis called *Pratijñā* is given as *Sādhya-nirdeśa* and this includes the minor and major term.[1] The invariable relation between the *Liṅga* or probans or middle term, in this case between the Sivalinga established by the King in that temple, and the *Liṅgin*, the major term, viz., the knowledge of Śiva as existing in the King (the *Paksha* or minor term) should be free from any flaw; one of the flaws which would vitiate the inferance is the presence of this in a counter-example; i.e., it should be *vipaksha-vyāvṛtta*; in the present case, this Śivaliṅga and knowledge and devotion to the same are absent from Jainism.[2]

King Mahendravikrama was evidently a lover of logic. Along with the other well-known titles related to his artistic activities *Chēttakāri*, *Saṅkīrṇajāti* and *Chitrakārapuli*, he assumed a significant title to commemorate his love for logic, viz., *Anumāna*. This title is recorded in the middle of the second pillar in the same cave temple of Tiruchirapalli. The same is also mentioned in the Pallavaram cave of Mahendra, where besides the title *Anumāna*, the title *Upamāna* is also noticed which again proves his love for logic. Thus we may say that in second meaning of the verse, the King himself is inferred as *Anumāna*.

According to Śekkiḻār, a 12th century poet, the Śaivite saint Appar, also known as Tirunāvukkarasu, was a contemporary of a Pallava monarch whom he converted to Śaivism. All evidences point to the fact that Appar lived in 7th Century A.D. Mahendra I, Narasimha I, Mahendra II and Paramesvaravarman I were the Pallava monarchs who ruled in 7th Century A.D.

It is only in the Trichy inscription of Mahendra I, we have a positive reference to his conversion to Saivism from some other faith, while the inscriptions of other monarchs portray them as great Saivites. Thus we have both epigraphical and literary references, pointing to the contemporaneity of Saint Appar and Mahendra.

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1. See also Mudrarakshasa Nataka, V. 10 Sadhye nischitam etc.
2. I am thankful to my Professor, Dr. Raghavan, for clarifying the meaning of the verse, particularly on the side of logic.

This is further substantiated by other evidences.

In many of his verses, Appar mentions the worship of Śiva in the form of linga.

காயமே கோயிலாக கடிமனம் அடிமையாக
வாய்மையே தூய்மையாக மனம் மணி இலிங்கமாக
நேயமே நெய்யும் பாலா நிறைய நீர் அமைய ஆட்டிப்
பூசனை ஈசனார்க்குப் போற்றவிக் காட்டினோமே

— *அப்பர்*

It is therefore evident, that the worship of Siva in the form of Linga was well established long before the time of Appar and Mahendra.

Thus the second verse of Mahendra, at Tiruchirapalli, is of historic interest. It refers to the conversion of Mahendra to Śaivism. It illustrates his love for logic and above all it points to the state of Saivism in Tamil country in early 7th century A.D."

Hultsch's interpretation

Lockwood and V. Bhatt have brought out three points in their article on 'the Philosophy of Mahendra' and state that:-

1 "Hultsch in his translation has wrongly interpreted the sanskrit word 'nidhaya' and says that King Mahendra 'placed' an image of Siva in the cave temple.

2 Hultsch did not understand that when Mahendra had the figure of Siva Gangadhara carved, the figure was also fashioned as a portrait or representation of the King himself

and

3 the expression, the daughter of the mountain actually refers to goddess Ganga who is depicted in the panel and not to Parvathi as all scholars have been assuming since Hultsch's day." (P 91-92)

Regarding item I, the word *Nidhāya* – i.e, placed, Hultsch has given the meaning of the word, and is absolutely justified in his meaning (See Monier William on the word *Nidhāya*)

Regarding the third point, Hultsch and others held that there are three girls in the picture. One is that beautiful girl (river) Kaveri, the second is the girl (river) Ganga and the third is Parvathi. Siva as Gangadhara is already attached to Ganga. Parvathi cannot bear the

claim of another rival to his love in the form of Kaveri. So she runs to this abode from Himalayas and diverts Siva's attention.

This view cannot be held wrong, for this is fully borne out by the inscription. Parvathi expressing her displeasure at the presence of Ganga and Siva appeasing her as Gauriprasāda is depicted in thousands of sculptures and literary compositions. The introduction of three maidens as rivals, by Mahendra, certainly hightens the charm and aesthetic delight, quite in confirmity with the literary taste of the country. Further the very fact that a separate *garbhagraha* has been excavated by Mahendra, shows that some form of Siva, which (incidentally) would be the main deity, to which at least a part of the inscription refers.

The second point, relating to the identity of Mahendra with Gangadhara is discussed in detail here. In the Gangadhara panel, certain features exist which are persistantly ignored by the above writers. Apart from the central panel of Gangadhara, there are two human-figures seated one on either side of Siva. Both of them are shown holding their hand in adoration of the central figure and bending their head slightly in supplication. It is suggestive of two points, (1) The central figure of Siva, stands above the head of these figures and (2) They are bowing down to the Lord.

It is against this background two of the verses in this inscription should be understood.

Sailendra mūrdhani silābhavane vichitre
Sailīn tanūm gunabharo Nṛpatih nidhāya
Sthānum vyadhatta Vidhirēsha yathārtha samjnam
Sthānur svayamca sahatēna jagatsu jātah.

King Gunabhara having fixed (or placed) the stone image in this charming stone temple, on the top of the glorious mountain set *sthānu* (Siva) true its meaning, and it is quite appropriate that he also became *sthānu* (permanent) in this world.

This verse nowhere says that Mahendra merged with the image of Siva and reflected in the figure of Siva. On the contrary it specifically states that he also became permanent *tena saha i.e.* along with *Sthānu.* His separate identity is not only retained but also emphasised.

The other verse reads

Krtvā sivam sirasai dhārāyati ātma samstham
Uccaih ciratvam acalasya krtam krtārtam.

Having made (the image of) Siva who was residing in his heart (ātma) now bears him on his head. By this, he made the meaning 'that Siva stands on his head appropriate. (There is also a second meaning refering to the mountain (*acala*). That by this Siva and temple on top, the mountain, quite appropriately has became a lofty mountain).

In this verse also there is no mention of Mahendra being identified with the figure Gangādhara. On the contrary there is a specific reference to Siva who was in his heart, is now borne on his head.

Bearing Siva on his head is only a figurative expression and it means that he has become an ardent devotee.

It is in this connection the human figures shown at the feet of the Gangādhara image assume significance. The figures are suggestive of bearing Siva on their head. That he stands above their head is suggested by the verse is also evident.

Sculpturally the seated figures (one of them or both being the reflection of the same), admirably confirm to the meaning of the verse of the inscriptions and probably represents the portrait of Mahendra. So the seated figure, (Mahendra), bears Siva on his head, becomes meaningful. Figuratively, Mahendra became an ardent devotee of Siva is suggested by the verse.

The usage, "I bear the Lord on my head" is an oft repeated expression in Saiva Siddhanta philosophy. Any elementary book on Saiva Siddhanta system will explain this concept. It is also called *Thiruvadi dīksha,* in Tamil (Sanskrit *Sripāda dīksha*). When the Lord bestows grace on the devotee, which makes him mature or ripe in his devotion it is called *Thiruvadi dīksha.* This is obtained by the devotee from the Lord himself psychologically or through one's preceptor. That great Saivite saint Appar received this *Thiruvadi dīksha* from the Lord (placing the feet of Lord over the head of the devotee) is mentioned in many of his own Devarams.

Such usage is uttered both in the figurative sense and actual sense. There are instances where the devotee carried either a Linga or the pair of sandal on the head. There are sculptures which actually show the ruler carrying the pair of sandals of Siva on their head. A recent find shows a royal figure carrying such sandals. In the Gangadhara panel, Siva is not shown on the head, but is certainly suggested, being borne on the head of the seated figures. There is not even the remotest suggestion that Mahendra is identified with the standing Siva. In our opinion Hultsch has not misinterpreted the verses, but has given the simple straight forward meanings.

The authors also seem to confuse the meaning of *dhvani* (which they translate as alternate meaning) with *slesha. Dhvani* is that which is suggested; *slesha* is that which gives double meaning. In the verse under discussion, the intention of the poet is to give double meaning and so it falls under the category of *slesha.* As these are elementary exercises known to sanskritists, and Hultsch, an eminent sanskritist he was, has given the meaning of the verses in the right perspective.[1]

In this connection it is amusing to read an article on the subject by B.G.L. Swamy 'the date of Devaram Trio', in the Bulletin of Institute of Traditional Cultures published in 1975. It is not proposed to go into the points raised in this article in detail for there are many absurdities which call for no answer. A few are examined here.

Nothing can be more ridiculous than the following statement.

> "The identification of the Pallava donor of the Trichy inscriptions as Mahendravarman I, rests largely on flimsy and legendary grounds"

In this cave temple, the name Mahendravikrama is inscribed in bold characters, which not a single visitor to the cave will miss. Of course

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1. We do welcome academic discussions on various views, or subjects and postulation of diametrically opposite views which is essential for the proper appreciation of the subject, However we prefer a sobre approach, especially in dealing with the views of pioneering and eminent scholars like Hultsch, whose contribution to our knowledge of South Indian Epigraphy is unparalleled.

Swamy can always say Mahendravikrama does not mean Mahendravarma but something else ! But besides this title, there are a score of titles found here repeated in the Pallavaram epigraph. Thare can be no two opinion about the authorship of the upper rock cut cave of Trichy, that it is a monument of first class calibre of Mahendra.

There is another interesting assertion by Swamy, "They (The Devarams) speak of Andhakāsuravadha, Kāmadahana, Jalandharavadha which have no parallels in Pallava sculptures." All these representations are very much there in the Kailasanatha temple of Kanchi, and if Swamy cannot recognise them, it is not the fault of the Pallava sculptures.

Another amusing statement of Swamy is, "In the literary history of most languages in India the original and elaborate pieces of writing chronologically precede their respective abridged version - Thiruttondattohai, and Thiruttondar Thiruvandāti are examples of abridgements of Sekkilar's Thiruttondar Purānam."[1] So according to him Sankara's Bhāshya, should precede the Brahma Sutras ! Sekkilar himself states at the beginning that he is enlarging the Thiruttondattohai of Sundarar and also Nambi Andar Nambi's work. Of course it is possible for Swamy to say that, "Sekkilar the author of Periyapurānam does not know what he is talking!"

1. p. 171

THE CHIRRUR COPPER PLATES OF NRPATUNGA

Introduction

The Chirrur copper plates of Nrpatunga was first noticed by Robert Sewell. Subsequently it was in the collection of Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma from whose family the grant was bought by the Andhra Pradesh Government. A study of this charter by N. Ramesan which forms part of his doctoral thesis has been published. The edition by Ramesan carries many inaccuracies, both with reference to factual presentation and readings. The text as published, particularly of the tamil portion, is full of mistakes, so much so it would be better to give the fully corrected reading rather than, correct each and every mistake. The sanskrit portion has however been read well and deserves praise. Even there some errors have crept in, which needs corrections for a proper study of the grant. My readings of the text, and their import are given in the body of the text and Mr. Ramesan's are given in the foot note to facilitate easy reading.

Brief Summary of the Plates

The Copper plates, seven in numbers are fastened to a ring and carries a royal seal. The grant consists of two parts, the first in sanskrit, written in grantha characters and the second in tamil language written in tamil script. The seal bears a seated bull, above which is shown a *Srivatsa* symbol,[1] one of the *ashtamangalas*. This is surmounted by a parasol flanked by two chauris. On either side of the bull are shown lamps on stands.

Beginning from the mythical ancestry of the Pallavas. the sanskrit portion gives the geneology of the rulers till Nrpatunga the donor of the grant. One Paranjaya described as the ruler of three mountains, is said

1. The symbol is not a Sivalinga as mentioned by Ramesan: Page. 4.

to have requested the King to grant lands to Brahmanas at the instance of his wife Prithivimānikka. Upon this request, Nrpatunga granted the village of Chirrur, renaming it as Prithvimādevimangalam. One Dramilādhirāja was the executor of the grant.

The tamil portion repeats the same detail regarding the grant and gives in detail, the boundaries, exemption of taxes, the names of donees etc.

The grant is interesting in many respects. Sewell and Mallampalli Somasekhara sarma considered this a spurious grant and did not edit it. Ramesan deserves our thanks for publishing it.

Sanskrit portion - some interesting points

While refering to Narasimha I, it states that he erected a Vishnu temple on the sea-shore. It could have been built any where in his kingdom. It makes no reference to Mamallapuram.[1] Mahendra II, Paramesvara I and Rajasimha II are also mentioned. The charter interestingly refers to the construction of a stone temple to Siva at Kanchipuram. That the builder is mentioned as Rajasimha is also interesting. From him came Paramesvara II. Then is mentioned Nandi II. The wording *tasyādhta* in the text is obviously wrong and that the claim that Nandi was the son of Paramesvara can at best only be a conjecture.[2]

After Nandi came Danti, followed by Nandi III. His Son through Rashtrakuta Princess, was Nrpatunga.[3]

Nrpatunga

When Nrpatunga was ruling the country, one Paranjaya described as the *Balikulāmbara Bānumāli* (obvious reference to Bana family) and

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1. Ramesan asserts that this refers to the shore temple at Mamallapuram.

2. Ramesan asserts that text says that Nandi was the son of Paramesvara II and holds even some of the well known copper plates like Tandantottam as spurious. The text does not warrant such a conclusion.

3. The name of this Rashtrakuta princess is Sankha, known from Bahur plates of Nrpatunga.

Chieftain of three mountains, *agatrayesa*, was requested by his wife Prithivimānikka to grant lands to Brahmanas. At the request of Paranjaya, Nrpatunga gifted the village Chirrur renaming it Prithvimādevimangalam.[1]

Vijnapti and Ajnapti

There has been some confusion in the work of Ramesan on the identily of *Vijnapti* and *Ājnapti*, the requestor and the executor. The following is my corrected version. The *Vijnapti* for this grant was Paranjaya, who was a connossieur of art, one who pleased his relatives and one who was free from the evils of Kali. Dramilādhirāja, who resembled *Dharmātmaja* in fame, was the executor of this dharma. There is a scribal error here. Both the words *Vijnapti* and *Ājnapti*, are written wrongly as *Vilupti* and *Ālupti*, but later on corrected. The correction is patently visible in the word *ājnapti*, in the published illustration. A feeble attempt is seen even in the case of the word *Vijnapti*. That apart, the tamil portion gives the name of *Vijnapti* as Kaduvetti Muttaraiyan and *Ājnapti* as Kaduvetti Tamilpperaraiyan. The word Tamil Peraraiyan is mentioned as Dramilādhirāja in sanskrit portion. So there could be no doubt about that. These two persons are different from the grantor, Pallava Nrpatunga.[2] The same Kadupatti Tamil peraraiyan the

1. The identification of Queen Prithvimanikam as the wife of Paranjaya and not as that of Nrpatunga, as proposed by Ramesan is not only good but also fully borne out by the text.

2. Ramesan reads the word *Vijnapti* as *Vilupti* i.e. one who does not know miserlines. He also identifies Dramidadhiraja, the *ajnapti* with Nrpatunga the ruler. Consequently the meaning he attributes to this verse as " the order of the King in the Dravidadhirajya or the Dravida sub-kingdom became as it were the equal of fame of Dharmaraja or Lord Dharmaraja himself, " is obviously quite off the mark. Ramesan's rendering of the Tamil portion "the King who is described here as Kadupatti Tamil Peraraiyan gave the orders of the grant on the submission of one Kadupatti Muttharaiyan" is equally wrong. Nrpatunga is not identical with Kadupatti Tamil Peraraiyan and that both are different persons. Ramesan has also failed to establish the identity of the requestor (*Vijnapti*) and the executor (*Ajnapthi*) mentioned in sanskrit and tamil portions.

Ājnapti of this grant occurs as *Ājnapti* of the Bahur plates of Nrpatunga. His full name is given as Videlvidugu Kādupatti Tamil peraraiyan in tamil part. The sanskrit part gives his name as Uttamasila. He was the minister to the King Nrpatunga and is praised for his accomplishments.

Kadupatti Muttaraiya - a Bana

It is interesting that the *Vijnapti* mentioned as Paranjaya, *Balikulāmbara Bānumāli* (of the Bana family) is called Kadupatti Muttaraiyan in tamil portion. The recently discovered Hero-stone inscriptions in the Chengam and Dharmapuri area, give the title Muttarasa to some Bana chieftains. The name, Perumbāna Muttaresa occurs in an inscription of the Ganga ruler Sripurusha in 8th century'. Thus Paranjaya the Bana chieftain under Nrpatunga had the title Kaduvetti Muttaraiyan.

The scribe

The prasasti of this grant was composed by a poet Kumāra. The copper plate charter was inscribed by a silpin, who was known for his knowledge of scripts. His name was Nampa who hailed from the village Kūvam.[1]

The name of the scribe is given in the tamil portion *Kāshṭakāri* Nampan, Aparājitan.[2]

The Tamil portion - abbreviations

As mentioned early the tamil portion needs complete re-editing and I give the revised reading at the end. Here a few points of interest are mentioned. The tamil portion makes use of abbreviation in mentioning the names of gotras, sutras and the titles like kramavittan, shadangavid, caturvedi, bhattan etc. to reduce the length of the charter which is an uncommon feature.

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1. Ramesan reads the village of the silpin as Kupa and locates it in the region of Chittoor. But the village is Kuvam near Madras.

2. Mr. Ramesan has read the name of the scribe in tamil portion as Avanapitian. By reading so he has mised the importance of the name.

For the title *Kramavid*, the common abbreviation used is the letter '*Kra*'. This has been consistantly read wrongly by Ramesan as '*Ku*'. Kramavid is also sometimes abbreviated as '*Krama*'.

The title Caturvedi is abbreviated as '*Ca*' and Bhatta as '*Bha*' also, as '*Bhat*'. The word Shadangavid is written as "*Cada*" in its prakrit or tamil form where '*Ca*' is substituted for '*Sha*'.

Another consistent misreading relates to the reading of the conjunct consonant '*kka*'. These two letters are written as one letter with two vertical strokes in the middle resembling the grantha 'Ka'. For example the *Devadānamākki* (தேவதானமாக்கி) read as *Devadānamāki* (in 5th plate 2nd side). Also the village name *Kāttuppākka* is read *Kattupākam* (4th plate I side)

There are other misreadings which are mainly due to the lack of understanding of the technical vocabulary used in Tamil epigraphs. This his led to many misinterpretations.

(VIII) "Young calves and animals (Manrum Kanrum)

(IX) Tanks (Palun Kulam)" (page 64)

The above seperation of words and their meanings are wrong. The line as found in the plate is given below.

4. . . . மன்றுங் கன்று மேய் பாழுங் குளமும் . . . .

This should be seperated into

மன்றும்	*Manru*	assembly area
கன்று மேய் பாழும்	*Kanru mēy Pāḷ*	grazing ground[1]
குளமும்	*Kulam*	tank

Some other wrong readings are

1. *Tarukkāy* for *Tattukkāy*. (*4p-2-8*)
2. *Uridukai* for *Urirukkai* (*4p-2-3*)
3. *Rerupādu* for *manrupādu* (*4p. 2-9*)

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1. These words occur in hundreds of Tamil inscriptions.

4. *Tāku* for *Taraku* (*4-2-9*)
5. *Nakari* for *tari* (*4-2-9*)

The last page

The last page of the grant needs a thorough revision as below.

1. க்ரம = பங்கு கால் இவ்வூர் மஹாதெவர் பங்கு பணி செய் துண்ணபெ.ற்ரு
2. ன் ஆலங்காட்டு ஆசாரியன் [மகின் திஶர] ஶர்மன் மண்டகப் பங்கு ÷ குத்ரு =
3. க்ஷாரவாணி = ஈய்காட்டு கொ [மானன் ஜெரியூ]ரன் பங்கு ÷ ப்ரதிவீ மாதேவி சதுர்வே
4. தி மங்கலத்து உயூஸ்தன் தேவன் பங்கு ÷ காஷ்காரி நம்பன் அவராஜி
5. தப் பெருந்தட்டான் பங்கு அரை — இஞ்ஞெல் எழு நூற்றை
6. ம்பதின் காடியும் எண்ஞழிக் காலால் அளக்க பணி
7. த் தோம்

From this a few important points are gathered.

1. Mahādeva Sarman an ācārya of Ālangadu, was given the share of the Siva temple for doing worship in the temple. (Ālangadu mentioned here is Thiruvalangadu, the famous Sivakshetra near Thiruttani. The village, Chirrur gifted in this grant was situated very near Thiruvalangadu.

2. The grant also provides one share for the village *mandapa.* (The village *mandapa* played an important role in the pallava period. The Kuram plates of Paramesvara I, refer to provisions for the *mandapa.*

3. One Ikkattur[koman] received one share. We are not told for what purpose. Probably he was looking after the *mandapa* mentioned above.

4. The village *madhyastha* Devan, got one share.

Another point of persistent misreading is with reference to the numeral *'one'* which is shown as the modern symbol for division ÷ That it stands for the number one, is known from various inscriptions. The recently found numerals on the steps of the Swastika well at Thiruvel-

larai, dug in the reign of Pallava Danti (800 A.D.) is exactly like the one in the present grant.

Some historical notes:- Aparajita

We have mentioned that the name of the scribe is given as Aparājita. This is important. It was customary in those days, for the royal servants like the scribe to bear the name of the ruling monarch. For example the Bahur plates of Nrpatunga was inscribed by a *taṭṭān* (Scribe) Nrpatunga. The Pattattālmangalam plates of Nandi II was inscribed by a silpin named Danti. The plate was issued in the 61st regnal year of Nandi, by which time Danti has become the virtual ruler on account of his father's advanced age. The Pullur plates of Nandi II was inscribed by a Silpin Nayadhira. Nayadhira was Nandi's one of the titles. Such examples could be multiplied but suffice it to say, that the names assumed by the royal scribes clearly indicate the authority assumed by the ruler of that name. It would therefore be evident that the name Aparājita of the scribe, of this Chirrur copper plate of Nrpatunga, shows that Aparājita has become not only powerful but also a ruler.

Aparajita and Nrpatunga

From the recently discovered Velanjeri copper plate of Aparājita it is now clear, that Nrpatunga was thrown out of his royal seat by Kampavarman, the father of Aparājita. Aparājita either succeeded his father or more probably had joint rule with his father Kampavarman. How Nrpatunga fared during this period needs separate study. Here it is sufficient to say that before the sixth regnal year of Nrpatunga, Aparājita has become a ruler so as to make the scribe assume the name Aparājita.

If Nrpatunga's accession is accepted as 869 - 870 A.D. as held by T. V. Mahalingam, then it would suggest Aparājita should have also come to the throne almost at the same time.

It is known that Aparājita was aided by the Ganga ruler Prithivipati I in his wars against the Pandya and others at Sripurambiyam. In the Chirrur plates we find a Bāna Paranjaya mentioned as Chieftain. Aparājita destroyed the elephant corps of a Bāna Narādhipa. It is tempting to suggest that the Bāna defeated by Aparājita was this Paranjaya.

Srikumara-the poet

The Chirrur plates of Nrpatunga was drafted by one poet Kumara. A certain Mahadeva, son of Srikumara is said to be the composer of Aparājita's Vēlanjeri plates. Srikumara is praised as a great poet, composer of many Mahākāvyas and a subduer of his opponents. We have seen that both Aparājita and Nrpatunga were contemporaries. It is not surprising, that Srikumara composed Nrpatunga's charter, and Srikumara's son Mahadeva composed Aparājita's plates, both father and son were obviously serving in the royal court.

Ko-Vijaya

Sri. Ramesan holds that only from Nandi II onwards, the Tamil form of inscriptions like 'Kō-vijaya' in the Pallava grants occur. (P. 55). This view is not correct. The Tamil form Kō-vijaya etc. occurs even in the Paḷḷankōil copper plate of Simhavarma (6th cent. A.D., two centuries earlier to the period mentioned by Ramesan). The hero-stones recently discovered by the Tamilnadu State Archæology department also show that the form occurs, in the epigraphs of Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishnu.

Perumpidugu Pallavesvaragrha

The Chirrur plates refer to a Siva temple called Perumpidugu Pallavēsvaragrha. Who is the Pallava who had the title Perumpidugu Pallava ? The title Pidugu with various prefixes were assumed by the Pallava rulers of Kanchi. Mahendra had the title *Pahāppidugu.* Nandivarman seems to have had the title *Viḍēlviḍugu* and Danti had the title *Mārpiḍugu.* Paramesvaravarman I was the ruler who seems to have had this title *Perumpiḍugu,* for the canal dug from the river Palaru to Paramesvaratatāga in his reign, was named *Perumpiḍugu-kāl.* It is therefore not impropable that the *Perumpiḍugu Pallavēsvaragrha* was named after Paramesvara I, being built either by him or in his reign.

Perumpidugu Muttaraiya

The Muttaraiya Chieftains who ruled Nemam and Tanjore in 8 - 9th century had the title Perumpidugu Muttaraiya. This title seems to have been the legacy, left by Paramesvara I. The *Vijnapti* of the Chirrur plate, the Bāṇa Paranjaya was also a Muttaraiya. (Kadupatti Muttaraiya) The relationship of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyar of Sendalai and Kadupatti Muttaraiya of this grant requires further study.

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1 Dr. R. Nagaswamy, Thiruttani and Velanjery Copper-Plates, 1977.

CHIRRUR COPPER PLATE - TAMIL TEXT

Fourth plate : I side

1. . . . கோவிசைய ந்ருபதுங்கவர்மர்கு யாண்டு ஆறாவது காடு பட்டி மு
2. த்தரையன் விண்ணப்பத்தால் காடுபட்டித் தமிழ் பெரரையன் ஆணத்தி
3. யாக மணையிற் கொட்டத்துப்பன்மாநாட்டு நாட்டார் காண்க தந்நாட்டுச் சிற்றூர்
4. பழையவறமும் பிரமதெயமு நீக்கி முன் பெற்றாரை மாற்றி யாண்டு ஆறாவது
5. பிரிதிமாதேவி சதுர்வேதிமங்கலமென்னும்பேரால் ப்ரஹ்மதேய மாகப் ப
6. ணித்தேம் தாங்களும் படாகை நடந்து கல்லுங் கள்ளியும் நாட்டி அறையோ
7. லை செய்து விடுதருக என்று நாட்டார்க்குத் திருமுகம் விட நாட்டார்த் திருமுகங் கண்டு தொ
8. ழுது தலை வைத்துப் படாகை நடந்து கல்லுங் கள்ளியும் நாட்டி அறை ஓலை செய்து நா
9. ட்டார் விடுந்த அறையோலைப்படி நிலத்துக்கெல்லை கீழ்பாற் கெல்லை தாயந்த பெட்டன்
10. னும் பன்மாத்துப் பெரெரியின்னு பன்மாத்தரை சின்னும்மெற் பள்ளத் திருக்கோவி
11. லுக்கு மேற்கும் தென்பாற்கெல்லை காட்டுப் பாக்கத் தெல்லையின் வடக்கு மேல்பாற்கெல்லை

Fourth plate : II side

1. மணலூரா் எல்லையின்னு மனையிலார் காலுக்கு கிழக்கும் வடபாற் கெல்லை கடும் பழைய
2. னூரெரி கரையின் பற்றுக்கு மேற்கும் மாக இவ்விசைத்த பெரு நான் கெல்லைகளிலும் மக
3. ம் பட்ட நிலன் நீர் நிலன்ப் புன்செய்யும் ஊரும் ஊரிருக்கையும் மனையும் மனைப் பட
4. ப்பும் மன்றுங் கன்றுமெய்பாழுங் குளமுங் கொட்டகாரமும் கிடங்குங் கெணியுங் காடுங்
5. களறு மோடையும் முடைப்பும் உள்ளிட்டு நீர் பூசி நெடுப்பரம் பெறிந் துடும்போடி ஆமை
6. தவழ்ந்ததெல்லாம் உண்ணிலனெய்ழிவின்றி ஸ்ரீமஹாதேவிச் சதுர்வேதிமங்கல
7. மென்னும் பெரால் ப்ரஹ்மதேயமாகப் பெற்றதற்குப் பெற்ற பரிஹாரம் நாடாட்சியு
8. மூராட்சியும் வட்டி நாழியும் புதாநாழியுந் தட்டுக் காயும் ஈழப் பூட்சியும் இ
9. டைப் பூட்சியு மன்றுபாடுந் தரகுந் தறியுங் கூலமும் நல்லாவும் நல்லெருதும்
10. நாடு காவலு மூடு போக்கும் கல்யாணக் காணமுங் குசக் காணமும் உள்ளிட்டுக் கோ
11. த் தொட்டுண்ணற் பால தெவ்வகைப் பட்டதுங்கொக் கொள்ளப் பெருதெய் ப்ரஹ்மதெ
12. யத்தாரேய் கொள்ளப் பெறுவத[ா*]கவும் பெற்றதற்குப் பெற்ற வ்யவஸ்தை இப்ரஹ்ம

Fifth plate : I side

1. தேயத்திற்கு நீர்கிய்ந்தவாறு வாய்க்கால் குத்திக் கொள்ளப் பெறுவதாகவ்ும் இ
2. ந் நீர்ப்பொதிவினை செய்யாததாகவும் அந்நீரடைத் துண்ணப் பெறுவதாகும்

3. இய்வ்வாய்க்கால் அன்னியர் குறங்கறுத்துங் குற்றேத்தம் பண்ணையுங் கூ

4. டை நீரெறிக்கவும் பெருதாராகவும் இஸ்ரூஜ தேயத்திற் கெரி நீரெற்குமளவு மெற்றுக்

5. கொக்குமளவுங் கோக்கக் கரையடட்டிக் கொள்ளப் பெறுவதாகவுஞ் சுட்டோட்டால் மாடமா

6. ளிகை எடுக்கப் பெறுவதாகவும் துரவுகிணறிழிக்கப் பெறுவதாகவு ங்காவு

7. தெங்கிடப் பெறுவதாகவும் பெருஞ் செக்கிடப் பெறுவதாகவும் தமனகமும் இரு வெரியு

8. ம் செங்கழுநீருமுள்ளிட்டன நடப்பெறுவதாகவும் இஸ்ரூஜதேச தெல்லையிலிட்ட தெங்

9. கும் பனையுமிவர்கள் மனமின்றி ஈழ்வரேறப் பெருதாராகவும் இவ் வகைப்பட்ட வ்யவ

10. ஸ்தையிஞேடு ஸ்ரீமஹாதேவி வசதுர்வேதி மங்கலமென்னும் பேரால் நல்

11. கூநற்பாப்பர் அய்ம்பத்து நால்வர்க்கும் ஸ்ரூஜ தேயமாய் ஸவ்வ பரிஹாரமாயி

Fifth plate : II side

1. பாரதீ சென்றது . இது பெரும் பிடுகு பல்லவெஸ்வரமஹாத்திற்கு தெவதான

2. மாதன்மையில் விதன்றலேமாறு இந்நாட்டுப் பருகலூர் பெரும் பிடுகு பல்

3. லவெஸ்வரமஹாத்திற்குத் தெவதானமாக்கி இஸ்ரீமிஹாதெவிச துவெதிம

4. ங்கலமாயின சிற்றூர் பஞ்சவாரங்கட்டின எழுநூற்றஞ் பதின் காடி உம் ப

5. ழையனூர்த் திருவாலங்காட்டு மஹா தேவர்க்கு தேவதானமாய் வதுமுண்

6. பதாயிற்று ஸ்ரீமிஹாதெவிசதுதி மங்கலத்து ஊஹதெவர் பங்கொ

7. ன்று மாஹாவிஷ்ணுக்கள் பங்கொன்று வத்ஸமொத்ரத்து ஸூவெஸ்தூஸ ஸூத்ரத்து கு

8. ண்டூர் வெண்ணி மாதிக் கிரமவித்தர் பங்கொன்று ஹாரத்வாஜ மொத்ரத்து ஸூவெஸ்தூஸ

9. ஸூத்ரத்து காரம்பிச்செட்டு ஹவஸ்வாமி உபாபுரியர் பங்கொன்று ஸூத்யமொத்ரத்து ஸூவெ

10. ஸ்தூஸ ஸூத்ரத்து இழகந்திறத்து ஜெவடிஉபாபுரியன் பங்கொன்று காமகாயாநமொ

11. த்ரத்து சந்தொக ஸூத்ரத்துக் கிராஞ்சிப்பியக் கிரமவித்தர் பன் கொன்று மொதஉமொத்ரத்து

Sixth plate : I side

1. வ்ராவச்சன்ன ஸூத்ரத்துக் கொறு கொட்டியஞயச் சதுவ்வெதிப் பட்டர் பங்கொன்று

2. மொதஉமொத்ரத்து ஸூவெஸ்தூஸ ஸூத்ரத்து இருங்கண்டிக்கெசுவக் கிரமவித்தன் பங்

3. கொன்று ஹாரத்வாஜகோத்ரத்து ஸூவெஸ்தூஸ ஸூத்ரத்து அங் காணச் சங்கரநாரணஉபாபுரிய

4. ன் பங்கொன்று காஉகாயாந மொத்ரத்து சந்தொக ஸூத்ரத்து கிராஞ்சியாவியண்ண கிர

5. மவித்தன் பங்கொன்று ஹாரத்வாஜமொத்ரத்து ஸூவெஸ்தூஸ ஸூத்ரத்துச் சாத்தூர்ச் சட்டி

6. குமாரக்கிரமவித்தன் பங்கொன்று மோத = காத்யா = ஸூதம் பாத்து குமாரஸஉ-ஜன்

7. பங்கு ÷ குடி = ஸூவெ = எட்டுக் கூர் திருவடிகூ = பங்கு ÷ ஹாஶ = ஸூவெ = காகண்டூர்தெவடி கூ =

8. பங்கு ÷ விஸ்வா = ஸூவெ = நாங்குலை சாமி அண்ண பங்கு ÷ ஹாஶ = ஸூவெ = காரம்பிச் செட்டு

9. உழுதய்வ = பங்கு ÷ ஹாஶ = ஸூவெ = காரம்பிச் செட்டுச் செட்டயகூ = பங்கு ÷ ஹாஶ = ஸூஷ

10. ஜத்தை வஸஞயகூ = பங்கு ÷ ஊாரு = சூவ = காரம்பிச் செட்டுத் தாமோதிரவ = பங்கு ÷

11. வஸ்ஷ = சூவ = உறுப்பிட்டூர் ஙிசூவ = பங்கு ÷ ஊாமூ = ஜெஜி = கொடனூர் மமா = பங்கு ÷

Sixth plate: II side

1. வஷ = சூவ = கிராஞ்சி ஷீஸஊணக்கனத்நய கூ = பங்கு ÷ கொமி = சூவ = கஈரவசிரி

2. தத்யசுமபுரியன் பங்கு ÷ ஊாரி = சூவ = படாம்பு தின்றி இரெவயகூ = பங்கு ÷

3. ஊாரு = வூாவ = கிளிநல்லூராச் சாத்தம்ஊஉகூ = பங்கு ÷ஊாரு = சூவ = குமுண்டி

4. லி அத்தொணகூ = பங்கு ÷ ஊாரி = கொஷ = சூலி கொன்றை சுாஸவெடன்ப் பங்

5. கு ÷ ஊாரு = சூவ = காரம்பிச் செட்டு அய்ய குட்டி கூ = பங்கு ÷ ஊாரு = ஷிர = அது

6. கூர் நம்பி காரி ஊட் = பங்கு ÷ கொமி = வூாவ = பங்கு றி அகுமார வஊ = பங்

7. கு ÷ வஷ = வதொ = பங்கனூர் ஸ்ரீ மாஊ = பங்கு ÷ கொமி = வூாவ = பெருபற்ற

8. புலியூர் தாமோதிர வட = பங்கு ÷ காமூ = வூாவ = திருச் சொகுனூர் கெசுவ ஊ

9. ட் = பங்கு ÷ ஊாரு = வூாவ = செபாகை நாகம ஊஉவட = பங்கு ÷ காமூ = வூாவ = அழு

10. ந்தூர் நாரயண கூஉ = பங்கு = கொமி = வூாவ = கிளி நல்லூர் காளிமஉகூஉ = பங்கு =

11. மொத = வூாவ = கிளி நல்லூர் நிலங்கண்ணி கூஉ = பங்கு ÷ மொத = சூவ = புல்லட்டர்

Seventh plate: I side

1. நீலகண்டகூஉ = பங்கு ÷ குத்ர = வூாவ = கிளி நல்லூர்கண்ணி மஉஉகூஉ பங்கு

2. ஸாங்கிரு = ஒராவ = இருங்கண்டி பாமாஊட = பங்கு ÷
குடி = ஊிஶ = நின்றடி தோற்றியூர்
3. கூ௨ = பங்கு ÷ வஷ் = சூவ = இராயூர் சங்கரநாராண
கூ௨ = பங்கு ÷ ஊார = சூவ சா
4. ந்தூர் சூலபட்டன் பங்கு ÷ குடி = சூவ = கொட்டிவஊந்ந
திசதிவலபட்டன் பங்கு ÷
5. ஊாரி = காஓ = ஓடபுறைமாதவ வதுவெ௯ = பங்கு ÷ ஊார =
சூவ = செந்திறத்து சடிகு
6. மாரசடங்கவி பங்கு ÷ ஊாஶ = காத்ரு = வெங்கிஷட் குஊாஶ
ஊட்ட = பங்கு ÷ ஸா
7. ங்க்ரு = ஒராவ இருங்கண்டி மாணிக்க திருவெதி பங்கு ÷
ஊிரி = சூவ = குரவசிரி
8. கொவிந்தகூ௨ ÷ பங்கு ÷ ஊார ÷ ஒராஒரகிளிநல்லூர் நாகவூாஶ
பட்ட பங்கு ÷ ஊார
9. ஒராவ = கிளிநல்லூர் சாத்தஶ௨௯ன் பங்கு கால் சூத்ரு = ஒராவ =
செறுப்பூர் சிற்றி எவ
10. கூ௨ = பங்கு கால் காஶ்ரு = சூவ = இருங்கண்டி நாரண கூ௴
= பங்கு கால் காஶ்ரு
11. ஒராவ = கிளிநல்லூர் திண்டி ஶ௴கூ௨ = பங்கு கால் காஶ்ரு
= ஒராவ தாயஶ௨௯

Seventh plate : II side

1. கூ௴ = பங்கு கால் இவ்வூர் ௨ஊாஜெவர் பங்கு பணி செய்துண்ண
பெற்று
2. ன் ஆலங்காட்டு ஆசாரியன் [மகின்தீஶன்] ஶ௨௯ன் மண்டகப் பங்கு
சூத்ரு =
3. க்ஷாஶவாணி = ஈய் காட்டு கொமா[னன் ஊரியூ]ரன் பங்கு
÷ ஒரயிவிஊா தெவிவத௲வெ௯
4. திமங்கலத்து ௨யூஹூன் தெவன் பங்கு ÷ காஷகாரி நம்பன்
அவராஜி
5. தப் பெருந்தட்டான் பங்கு அரை . இஞ்ஞெல் எழுநூற்றை
6. ம்பதின்காடியும் எண்ணுழிக்காலால் அளக்க பணி
7. த்தோம்

CONSTITUTION OF JUDICIARY

A PANDYA EXAMPLE

The Mānūr inscription of Pāndya Varaguna[1] , Māranjaḍayan, is well known. Writing on this epigraph, Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, states 'this Mānūr record may be taken perhaps as giving a type of the constitution of village assemblies in this period in the south of the Pāndya country. Membership in the assembly was regulated by qualifications of property and learning very much as in the well known inscription of Uttaramerur in the early 10th century A.D.'[2]

Sri. A. S. Ramanatha Iyer, the editor of South Indian Inscriptions, Volume XIV refering to this inscription, states:-

" This inscription is of interest as giving the rules and qualifications which governed the admission of members to the assembly Mānanilai-nallūr".[3]

All the scholars dealing with the inscription have taken this to refer to the qualification of members to be elected to the village assembly. But it seems to us that the inscription could be interpreted from another angle namely the constitution of the law court of the village. The use of words "*Manru*" and *Manrādutal* in the inscription is a pointer in that direction. It is needless to say that all the inscription are *lēkhya pramānas*, written documents and as such use legal terminology. The word *manru*, etc. frequently occuring in epigraphs is used in connection with the courts. Even in literature the word is used in the sense of court *dharmāsana* (*Periyapuranam*). From this angle the inscription of Mānūr assumes greater significance.

1. No. 37 of South Indian Inscriptions Vol. XIV, Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXII. p. 5
2. K. A. N. Sastri. The Pandyan Kingdom Madras. 1972. p. 83.
3. South Indian Inscriptions Vol. XIV. p. 28

Text

ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கொமாறஞ்சடையற்கு யாண்டு முப்பத்தஞ்சு நாள் நான்னூற்றறுபத்து ஒன்பது

இந்நாளால் களக்குடி நாட்டு ப்ரஹ்மதேயம் மானநிலை நல் ஊர் மஹாஸபையொம்

பெருங்குறி கழற்றி ஸ்ரீ மொவஉ நத்துக் கூடி இருந்து இவ்வூர் மஹாஸபையொம் குடி மன்றுடுவதனுக்கு செய்த வ்யவஸ்தையாவது

இவ்வூர் பங்குடையார் மக்கள் ஸபையில் மன்றுடுகிறது ஒரு யஜுழ உட்பட மந்திர ப்ராஹ்மணம் வல்லார் ஸ்வவசதூராய் இருப்பாரெ ஒரு பங்கினுக்கு ஒருத்தரே ஸபையில் மன்றுடுவதாகவும்

விலையும் வ்ருத்திமூஹமும் ஸ்ரீயநமு முடையார் ஒரு யஜுமுட்பட மந்திர ப்ராஹ்மணம் வல்லராய் ஸ்வவசதூராய் இருப்பாரே மன்றுடு வதாகவும்

இதன் மேற்பட்டது விலையாலும் வ்ருத்திமூஹத்தாலும் ஸ்ரீயநத்தாலும் ஸ்ராவணை புகுவார் முழு சிராவணை அன்றி கால் சிராவணையும் அரைச் சிராவணையும் முக்கால் சிராவணையும் புகவும் [ப]ணிக்கவும் பெறுதா[ரா]கவும்

பங்கு விலைக்கு கொள்வார் ஒரு வேதம் எல்லா இடமும் ஸவரிஸிஷம் பரிசைஷ தந்தார்க்கெ ஸ்ராவணை பணிப்பதாகவும்

இப்பரிசு அன்றி ஸ்ராவணை புக்காரையும் பின்னையும் இக்கச்சத்தில் பட்டபரிசெ மன்றுடுவதாகவும்

இப்பரிசினல் முழுச் சிராவணை இல்லாதாரை எவ்வகைப் பட்ட வாரியமும் ஏற்றப் பெறுதாராகவும்

குத்துக்கால் செய்வாரையும் குத்துக்கால் செய்வார்க்கு [உவொகம்நி]ப் பாரையும் வெவ்வேறு வகை ஐய்யஞ்சு காசு தண்டங் கொண்டு பின்னையும்

இக்கச்சத்தில் பட்ட பரிசெ செய்வதாகவும்

இப்பரிசு பணித்து வ்யவஸ்தை செய்தொம்

மஹாஸபையொம்

மஹாஸபையார் ப . . .

The Mahāsabha met at the *Govardhana* of the village and agreed upon certain decisions for constituting the court of justice. The translation of thetext according to us would be as follows.

Translation

Svasti Sri

Four hundred and sixty ninth day and thirty fifth year of king Māranjaḍaiyan.

This day we the members of the Mahāsabha of the village Mānanilai-nallur, in Kalakkudi nadu met at govardhana after meeting as general assembly, passed the following resolutions relating to the constitution of the court of the Mahāsabha.

1. The representation in the court for the descendents of the share-holders of the village:- One, who is well-learned in Mantra and Brahmana, and one *dharma sāstra,* and is of virtuous conduct alone is eligible, that too only one representative for each share. They will enquire cases in the *sabha.*

2. Among those who bought a land in the village, received as a gift, or got it as a *strīdhana,* only those learned in *mantra brahmana,* and one *dharama sāstra,* and of virtuous conduct are eligible to hear the cases in the *sabha.*

3. Further, those who got land, by purchase, gift or as a *stridhana,* will be eligible to serve as hearers, *srāvanai puhuvār.* They will not be permitted or ordered to hear quarter, half or three fourth of the case (as hearers) but only the full case.

4. Among buyers of the shares, only those who pass an examination in all parts of one Veda, including its *parisishtas,* are to be admitted as hearers.

5. Further those who enter as hearers apart from this decisions should hear cases, only as directed in this *kacca* (stipulation).

6. One who does not become a full hearer, as per this stipulation should not be appointed for any *Varyam,* sub-committee.

7. Those who satisfy the above conditions should not refuse (or obstruct) to serve.

8. Those who obstruct or abet obstruction should be fined, five *Kasu* individually and even after paying the fine, they should serve as per this resolution.

We the members of the *Sabha,* took the decision as resolved above."[1]

The above inscription raises many interesting points on the administration of justice in the Pāndya country in 9th century A.D. The Pāndya ruler in whose reign the decision was taken by the Manur sabha is identified with Parantaka Varaguna, who came to the throne in 768 A.D. The date of this inscription would then fall in 805 A.D. The Mahāsabha was functioning already in that village of Manur and the decision was taken by that Sabha.

The *Sabha* met in the Govardhana of the village, where it deliberated the resolution. At Uttaramerur, the Govardhana of the village was an active center from 9th century A.D. to 11th century[2] and the presiding diety is mentioned as Mahāvishnu. The central *sabhāmandapa* of Uttaramerur, also housed Lord Vishnu in whose immediate presence the transactions were conducted.[3] Vishnu being the presiding deity of *dharma* it is proper that the Mahāsabha of Manur took the decision relating to the law court in the Govardhana of the village. The presence of Govardhana, (connected with legal administration,) in villages separated by over five hundred miles, one in the northern part of Tamilnadu (near Madras) and another in the extreme south, in Thirunelveli, one under the Pallavas and the other under the Pāndya, both in 9th century, shows almost a uniform pattern of village set up.

That the Mahāsabha met and decided about the qualification for the members of the Court, illustrates, the dynamic role of the village assembly in ancient Tamil country.

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1. The translation given above is this author's own which is at variance with the one given by Sastri.

2. F. Gros and R. Nagaswamy. Uttaramerur. p. 84

3. Ibid. 68

The wordings of the Mānūr epigraph is indicative of two catagories of judges; viz. the *Manrāḍuvārs* and the *srāvanai puhuvār.* (hearers) "The term *sabhāsad* occurs in some Vedic passages and in many of the *dharma sāstras.* The combined effect of various texts is to show that the members of the *sabha* fell into two catagories, some of them having a more definite role than the rest".[1] "The differentiation between the two groups of the members of the sabha is emphasised in a passage of Vyāsa which speaks of them as the *Niyukta* and the *Aniyukta.* Kātyāyana also recognises a differentiation though he changes the terminology. According to him the select are the *Sabhyas.* That *Niyōjana* was a deliberate process is shown by the passage in Nārada which refers to the *Niyuktas*, as well tested (*Suparīkshitas*)".[2]

In the Mānūr inscription, that the word *Manrāḍuvār* stands for judges to hear disputes is quite clear. The word *srāvnai puhuvār* seems to stand for hearers, (*srōtārah*) of the *dharma sāstras.* (*srāvana* means hearer, derived from the root *sravana* to hear). It is not known why the stipulation that, the *srāvanai puhuvār* will not be permitted to serve or ordered to serve for a quarter, half or three-fourth of the hearing. It is possible that the Mānūr *sabha* faced some difficulties in that, the *srāvanai puhuvār* dissociated themselves from the proceedings in the middle of the hearings. The tendency to dissociate oneself from civil or criminal cases especially so, when their role is not definitive is quite natural. So it became necessary for the Mānūr sabha to bind the *srāvanai puhuvār* to remain for the whole proceedings.

There is another stipulation in the Mānūr decisions. One who buys a share in the village, can be allowed to serve as a *srāvanai puhuvār* only after he passes a test in one Veda, inclusive of its *parisishta.* The inscription reads *parikshai tantārkke srāvanai panippadāhavum.* That the Niyuktas should be 'well tested' *suparikshitas* is refered to by Nārada.[3] The use of the word *Parīkshai tantār*, in Mānūr seems to conform to the *dharma sāstra.*

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1. S. Varadachariar, The Hindu Judicial system, Lucknow 1946-p. 102
2. Ibid
3. The Hindu Judicature p. 105

The *sabha* of Mānūr seems to have experienced some obstruction or abetment to obstruction, which called for a fine being imposed.

The village Mānūr, called Mānanilainallur, seems to have been established as a *brahmadeya* with a number of families as share holders not many generations earlier. By the time of the record, the character of the village has undergone a change. New settlers came in either buying land or accepting land as gift and in some cases married the girls of the village and obtained land as *stridhana*. In the families of the original share-holders (they being joint families) many grown-ups with required qualifications were present. Since the original character of the village had undergone change, it became necessary for the *sabha* to deliberate and decide about constitution of the court, taking in to consideration the future changes as well. The interest of the descendents of original share-holders were safeguarded as well as those who came as new settlers.[1]

Only those who were qualified for the full *srāvana* could be appointed for any *Vārya*. This decision shows that different types of *Vāryas* were functioning, as early as 8th century in the extreme south as well.

The inscription points to the vigorous functioning of the village assemblies in 8th century Tamil land, and that the village *sabhas* were free to appoint its own court and stipulate the requisite qualification. The absense of any royal order or officer, shows that the *sabhas* were free to act themselves. The Mānūr epigraph is a very interesting record of the early Pāndya period showing the role played by the *dharma sāstra* in Tamil land. Whether it was the northern part of Tamil land or the southern most part, whether the territory was ruled by the Pallavas, the Pāndyas, the Cholas or other dynasties, the village set up retained its constitutional authority derived from the *dharma sāstra*

A comparison between the Mānūr record and the famous Uttaramerur record of Parāntaka would be interesting. The 'U' record relates to the constitution of various sub committees, to serve under the *sabha* while the 'M' record relates to the constitution of law court. In Mānūr, no royal officer was present when the *sabha* met and took the decision but in

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1. The inscription also indicates that the shares in a *Brahmadeya* village could be sold as early as 8th century A.D.

Uttaramerur, a royal officer, who was a brahmin was present. In Mānūr a knowledge of *dharma sāstra* was stipulated along with *mantru* and *brahmana* for those who served as *manrāḍuvār.* In Uttaramerur, a knowledge of *dharma sāstra* is not prescribed. On the otherhand efficiency in administration (a *nipuṇa* in *kārya*) is prescribed. These sub committees being working committees, the insistance was more on working efficiency. The insistance on a knowledge of *dharma sāstra* at Mānūr, confirms our conclusion that the record deals with the law courts. Both Mānūr and Uttaramerur records, prescribe virtuous conduct (*suvarttar* in 'Mānūr' and *Ācārasīla* in Uttaramerur) which is invariably mentioned in the *dharma sāstras.*

The Seal of Thiruvālaṇgādu copper plate of Rājeṇdra chola-I, showing two fish and a tiger placed on a bow

6054

THE EMBLEMS OF TAMIL KINGS

Dr. D. C. Sircar, in his 'Political and administrative systems of Ancient and Medieval India,' says,

"The fish and the tiger are found on the seals, respectively of the Pāndyas and the Cholas, though they appear along with other symbols and it is uncertain whether the *dhvajas* of the Pāndyas and Cholas represented only the fish or tiger with the exclusion of the associate symbols on the seal."[1]

The present article deals with certain aspects of this question. The Sangam literature, (the earliest body of literature) speak of the flags, and the royal emblems of the three crowned rulers, the Cheras, the Cholas and the Pāndyas. The tiger as the emblem of the Chōlas, the fish as that of Pāndyas, and the bow as that of the Cheras are mentioned very frequently. The references are sufficiently clear that these symbols were employed seperated on their flags by the respective rulers.

The Chola King, Nalankilli, stamped his emblem of " roaring tiger" (*Pēlvāy uluvai*) on the gates of his enemy forts.[2] The fort embossed with the emblem of tiger, and belonging to an ancestor of Malaiyamān Chōliya Enādi, is refered to in another poem.[3]

There is an interesting verse, in the Puram collections.[4] The poet addresses the Chola, Thirumāvalavan, and the Pāndya Peruvaludi who were seated together. "Let the hills of opponent kings bear the emblem of your tiger and fish, incised together."

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1. Dr. D. C. Sircar, Political and Administrative systems of Ancient and Mediaeval India, Delhi 1974, p. 48.
2. '*Purananuru,*' verse 33-9.
3. Ibid v. 174.
4. Ibid v. 58.

. . . . கொடுவரி
கோண்மாக்குயின்ற சேண்விளங்கு தொடுபொறி
நெடுநீர்க் கெண்டையொடு பொறித்த
குடுமியவாக பிறர் குன்று கெழு நாடே.

Here is an idea of carving the emblems of two of the rulers (who were friendly) together on the hills of enemies. That this idea has taken deep root even in the beginning of the christian era is interesting.

The *silappadhikāram* refers to the tiger banner of the Cholas, the bow banner of the Cheras, and the fish emblem of the Pāṇḍyas.[1] It also refers to the Chera, who is said to have ruled the country between Venkatam in the north, and Kumari in the south, who had all the three symbols 'bow, fish and tiger' as the insignia.[2] "வன் பெருங்கல் தென் குமரியாண்ட செருவில் கயல் புலியான்" That the Chera had all the three in his seal is refered to here. The Chera ruler Senguttuvan is said to have chiselled the 'bow, fish and tiger' emblem on the Himalayas. Alluding to the defeat of the Pāṇḍya and the Chola, the work says that they surrendered their tiger and fish banner to the Chera.[3] Villavankōdai, the commander of the Chera, requests the king to send letters to all the rulers of the north, with his royal seal bearing the "bow, fish and tiger" emblem, the emblem of the Tamils.

The *manimekhalai* refers to the lofty banners carrying the bow and fish of the Chera and Pāṇḍya respectively, captured by the Chola Nalankiḷḷi.[4]

A few coins found, in Kaveripumpattinam, square in shape and assignable to the 2nd—3rd century A.D. bear on the obverse, the standing figure of a tiger, with one of its paw raised. It is also shown in a roaring pasture. This being the heart of the Chola territory, it is not unlikely that it represents the emblem of the Sangam Chola, so frequently mentioned. A few coins bearing the figure of an elephant on the obverse with a

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1. *Silappadhikaram* 3-29.
2. Ibid - 3-29 25.
3. Ibid - 3-25-153.
4. *Manimekhalai* 3-24.

few *ashtamangala* symbols like *srīvatsa, svastika* etc. are assigned to the Pāṇḍyas. But this suggestion is doubtful.

It is just sufficient to show that in the early period the kings of South India did have in their flags the emblem, fish, tiger or bow separately as gleaned from literature and suggested by coins.

It is known that all the Pallava copper plates, bear their seals, with either a standing or seated bull, they frequently also refer to *Vrshabhadhvaja* in their inscriptions.

When we come to the early mediaeval period, the picture is more clear The *Pāndikkovai,* referring to the exploits of Pāṇḍya Arikesari Māravarman, refers to three different emblems of the king. The ruler is said to have carved the fish on the northern mountain.[1] He incised the 'bow, tiger and fish insignia, on the Mēru mountain.[2] It is befitting his greatness since he conquered both the Chola and the Pāṇḍya.[3] But a point of interest[4] is that the fish and tiger are said to be placed on a bow. The

"சிலை மிசை வைத்த புலியும், கயலும்"

three emblems, embossed on copper plate seals of the Cholas of later period show that the fish and tiger, placed over the bow as described in this verse. (see illustration). In addition this Pāṇḍya of the 7th century had a flag with the figure of lightning.[5]

"உருமினை நீள்கொடி மேல் கொண்ட செங்கோல் உசிதன்"

Only one seal of the early Pāṇḍyas is now preserved. It is found on the Dalavaypuram plates of Parāntaka Vīranārayana.[6] The seal shows two fish and the tiger placed on a bow. The seal assignable to the end of 9th century is an example of the Pāṇḍya royal emblem. The same plate makes an interesting reference. The artisan who engraved the plate is

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1. *Pandikkovai* Verse 222
2. Ibid - V. 114.
3. Ibid V. 18
4. Ibid V. 114
5. Ibid V. 138, 228
6. T. N. Subramaniam - '*Dalavaypuram copper plate grant*' Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India p. 962-65 p.2

said to have come from the family, which under orders of the Pāṇḍya, carved the symbols "two fish, a tiger and a bow" on Himalayas. Both in the seal and the text, we get a reference to a pair of fish which is note worthy. In the Sinnamanur larger plates,[1] the carving of the three emblems on the northern mountain is mentioned among the exploits of the ancestors of the Pāṇḍya. In the Madakkulam seal illustrated by Elliot are seen the seated tiger, and two fish placed on a bow, but this belongs to a later period.[2]

In this connection two coins deserve mention. One is the coin illustrated by Sir T. Desikachari.[3] On the obverse it carries two fish and on the reverse the name 'Avanipasekharan'. It is identified as an issue of Srīmāra Srīvallabha, of 9th century. There is another coin assigned to Varaguna bought from a private collector now in the National Museum.[4] Unless another coin is found in unquestionable surroundings this evidence cannot be used for scientific research.

But from the 13th century, we find the Pāṇḍyas. Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, issuing coins with two fish, with a new introduction a *Cendu* (a curved rod,) in between the two fish. Why this new device is not known. Probably it is the same 'lightning' emblem mentioned as a banner of Arikesari, in *pandikkovai*) which, assumed this form and got integrated, particularly after the sculptures representing Aiyanar, Krishna (as Rajamannār) and Sundaramurti which show this cendu probably the (curved *liladanda*) in their arms. Another important fact is the dropping of the tiger and bow from the coins. Though both Māravarman Sundara and Jaṭāvarman Sundara in 13th century, were great emperors, and practically ruled the entire Chola and Chera country, they dropped the tiger and bow from their emblem. Apart from their coins in a number of their stone inscriptions, the two fish and the rods are found chiselled. It is therefore evident that in 13th century the Pāṇḍyas did have fish alone as their emblem on their flags.

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1. S.I.I. vol. III pt IV No. 206
2. Elliot, Coins of Southern India p. 12
3. T. Desikachari, South Indian coins F, 65, 66
4. C. Sivaramamurti, The Art of India p. 425

In the case of the Cholas new evidence has come to notice now. A copper plate of Parāntaka Chola, (10th century A.D.) the earliest Chola plate to be found so far, bears the seal. and the seal, shows the seated tiger and two fish placed on a bow. From the very beginning, the imperial Chola have adopted this device.

In a number of coins of the Cholas, we find the bow, tiger and two fish, all shown in one line. There are also coins, which bear the names, Madhurantaka and Uttama Chola which, show only one fish and one tiger but without the bow. We do not know whether this shows the shrinking state of the Chola power. However even in a stone inscription, found at Thiruppaccur, the three emblems are incised, in an inscription of Uttama.

There is one coin, in which[1] only a seated tiger is shown below the arm of the standing king. It is an issue of Rajaraja. I have shown in an article[2] that this was a special issue intended for circulation in the Chola country.

Regarding the Cheras we find that by the mediaeval period they included the palmyra tree and bow also an elephant as their emblem. But so far as the inscriptions are concerned, they speak of the banners of the individual rulers carrying their respective emblems. That they did carry their own emblem, namely the tiger, the fish and the bow by the Cholas, is beyond any doubt.

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1. T. Desikachari, South Indian coins p. 68
2. R. Nagaswamy, *Special issues, of Rajaraja's coinage,* Kalvettu No. 13

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

A HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

A study of the ancient Sangam classics reveal that the rulers of the Tamil country respected all religions alike, irrespective of their personal affiliations. There was religious toleration among the people, as they were said to visit temples of various faiths without distinction. Describing the city of Madurai, in *Madurai kānchi*, Mangudi Marudanar, gives a graphic description of the temples of Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina faiths existing side by side. Universal toleration of the highest order is found reflected in the celebrated Tamil classic, *Silappadikāram*, by Ilango Adigal, wherein a Brahmin lady, Malati by name, is said to have visited a Buddha caitya, and a Jaina temple (*Nikkanta Kottam*) besides visiting various shrines dedicated to Hindu deities.[1] Asoka Maurya, solemnly warned his subjects in edict XII, 'to abstain from speaking evil of their neighbour's faith, remembering that all forms of religion alike aim at the attainment of self-control and purity of mind and are thus in agreement about essentials, however much they may differ in externals.' This is in consonance with the Vedic tradition *ekam satviprā bahudhā vadanti.* The *arthaśāstra* prescribes that the king who has acquired a new territory should follow the people in their faith with which they celebrate their national, religious and congregational festivals or amusements. Though the Saka and Kushana emperors, who ruled over the North-western part of India were foreigners, they followed the worship of Śiva, Vasudeva, Buddha and Jaina, alike and have issued even coins bearing the figures of Śiva.

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1. அமரர்தருக் கோட்டம் வெள்யானைக் கோட்டம்
புகர்வெள்ளை நாகர்தங் கோட்டம் பகல்வாயில்
உச்சிக்கிழான் கோட்டம் ஊர்கோட்டம் வேற்கோட்டம்
வச்சிரக் கோட்டம் புறம்பணையான் வாழ்கோட்டம்
நிக்கந்தக் கோட்டம் நிலாக்கோட்டம் புக்கு

— சிலப்பதிகாரம் 1 . 9

The Pallava dynasty, which has left a lasting impression on the history, art, and culture of the Tamil country was established in the middlle of the 3rd century A.D. with its capital at Kanchi and held sway over the Northern part of Tamilnad for over six hundred years. This period witnessed the revival of Bhakti movement, throughout the length and breadth of the country, by the great works of Śaiva and Vaishnava saints. The Pallavas, by their pious works and administration, aimed at becoming great sages, *Rajarshis,* in the true Indian tradition. *Pūrva Rājarshiprabhāvaguṇa samupāgataḥ* is a title often repeated for many Pallava kings. A verse in the Kailasanatha temple of Kanchi clearly sets forth the high ideals lived upto by the rulers of Pallava dynasty.

ब्रह्मण्यानां उदीर्णप्रबलकलिमदध्वंसिनां सत्यवाचां
गम्भीराणां त्रिवर्गस्थिति चतुरधियां वृद्धसेवापरानां ।
कामघन्तश्वरारिप्रसभ विजग्निनां हेति विद्यावराणां
धीरानां ऊर्ज्जितानां नयविनयवतां पल्लवानां नृपाणाम् ॥

They were performers of *somayāga, vājapeya, agnisṭhoma* and *aśvamedha* sacrifices and styled themselves. as *parama brahmaṇyas, parama bhāgavatas* and *parama māhēśvaras.* Evidently performance of Vedic sacrifices and the worship of Śiva and Vishnu were considered an integral part of same living. Thus we find the Pallavas following all the three faiths and yet upholding other faiths like Buddhism and Jainism. Simhavarman, an early Pallava ruler, is said to have worshipped at the *mahā caitya* of Amaravati and endowed gifts. The mother of Simhavishnu, gifted a land for a Jaina temple built by her, for her own merit and for the well-being of her husband's family. This Simhavishnu is said to have attained eminence by the study of Vedic and Āgamic traditions,

सकल मन्त्रतन्त्रान्तर्गतस्य विविधागम प्रक्षालित विशुद्ध बुद्धे :
पल्लवाधिराजस्य जनन्या भर्तृकुलकीर्तिजनन्या......आत्मन :
धर्मप्रवर्तनार्थं च प्रतिष्ठापिताय अर्हं देवतायतनाय -

— *Hosakote Copper plates*

During the sixth regnal year of Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishnu (sixth century A.D.), a gift of land is recorded to the Jaina ascetic Vajranandi of Amanserkai. There are records, endowing lands and other gifts to Jaina Pallis in the eighth century A.D. Such universal tolerance, along with endowments to various religious faiths earned the Pallavas the title *Dharma mahārājādhi rāja.*

In this connection a cave temple, excavated by Mahendravarman at Mandagapattu, is interesting as it throws valuable light, on the religious harmony of the period. The cave has three cells at the back wall, which are dedicated to Brahma, Śiva and Vishnu. Mahendra's inscription in the temple, calls it, *Brahmēśvaravishnu lakshitāyatanam.*[1] Two Dvārapālas, one representing Nandikeśvara and the other Garuḍa, are seen flanking the cave, which is a unique feature of this temple. Mahendravarman is said to have excavated this cave soon after his conversion to Śaivism, by Apparswamigal. That Mahendra did follow some other faith and was converted to Śaivism is reflected in his own inscription at Tiruchirapplli.[2] Yet we find Mahendra dedicating his first cave temple, not exclusively to Śiva, but to all the three deities. Those who perform sacrifices are the worshippers of Brahma as he is the Lord of Vedas *Brahmāṇam Vṛṇīmahe. Thus the three titles parama brahmaṇyas, parama bhāgavatas* and *parama māhēśvaras* have real significance with reference to the monuments erected by them.

It would be interesting to study a few cave temples at Mamallapuram in this connection. The famous Mahishāsuramardini cave is dedicated to Śiva where the great Lord is portrayed as Somaskanda in the central cell. The south wall of the same cave carries the sculpture of Vishnu as Anantaśāyi while on the other side is Mahishāsuramardini. Another cave in the same village dedicated to Varāha, is locally called the Ādivarāha cave, but according to inscription it is mentioned as *parameśvara Mahāvarāha Vishnugṛham.* In this cave there are two interesting panels, one

1. *etadaniṣṭakam adruman aloham asudham vicitracittena nirmāpitam nṛpena brahmēśvara vishṇv lakśitāyatanam*
2. *guṇabhara nāmani rājani anena liṅgena liṅgini jñānam pratathām cirāya loke vipakśa vṛtteh parāvṛttam*

representing Harihara, and the other Śiva as Gangādhara. An interesting inscription in the cave, taken to be contemporary with the cave, gives a verse enumerating the ten *avatars* of Vishnu, in which Buddha is included as one of the *avatars.*[1] This is perhaps the earliest epigraphical reference to Buddha as one of the *avatars* of Vishnu. Another interesting verse in this Vishnu cave also of the same age, praises the greatness of Rudra and states, 'fie upon those who do not meditate upon Rudra'.[2] The presence of Śiva panels, and the praise of Rudra, in this Vishnu temple, is based essentially on this unifying concept. Failure to grasp this underlying unity has given rise to various interpretations, with reference to the authorship of this cave and inscriptions. Another temple called Varāha cave in the same place, is interesting in yet another way. This cave, is ascribed to Narasimhavarman II, a great Śiva bhakta. He was called Śiva Chūdāmani, and was well-versed in the *śaiva siddhānta mārga.*[3] There is a panel of Varāhanārāyana in this cave, wherein Lord Śiva is figured adoring Vishnu. The same king has erected three temples at the sea-shore, which are known the world over for their architectural beauty. Of these three shrines, two are dedicated to Śiva and the third to Vishnu. The temples bear the various names of the king, as *Kshatriyasimha Pallavesvara gṛham, Rājasimha Pallavēśvara gṛham,* and *Narapatisimha Pallava Vishnugṛham,* In the celebrated Kailasanatha temple of Kanchi, also built by this great Siva bhakta, various sports of Vishnu, such as Trivikrama, Narasimha and others are portrayed on the southern side of the *prākāra.* A copper plate inscription of Nandivarman Pallavamalla should also be understood in this wise. Nandivarman is said to have been a great devotee of Vishnu and was a contemporary of the Vaishnavite saint Tirumangai Āḷwar. The first verse of the charter is dedicated to the Supreme Being.[4] In the second, Vishnu is

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1. *matsyakūrma varāhaśca nārasimhaśca vāmanah*
   rāmo rāmaśca rāmaśca buddah kalki ca te dasāh
2. *dhikteshām dhikteshām punarapi dhik dhik dhigastu dhikteshām*
   yeshām na vasati hṛdaye kupathagati vimokshako rudrah
3. *vidita bahunayaśśaiva siddhānta mārge*
4. *jayati jagattraya janmasthiti samhṛti kāraṇam para brahma*
   satyam anantam anādi jñānātmakam ekam amṛtapadam

praised,[1] followed by a verse dedicated to Śiva.[2] Immediately after, as if suggesting the synthesis of the two faiths, the form of Harihara (*Trivikramahara*) is extolled.[3] This *Paramavaishnava* begins one of his copper plates with salutations to Śiva.[4]

This religious tolerance is seen not only with the rulers of Pallava dynasty but also among all the contemporary dynasties of South India. An excavated cave at Bhairavunikonda, in Nellore district bears a lable, calling it *Brahmeśvara Vishnugṛham.* Another cave at Mugalarajapuram, near Vijayavada, is also dedicated to Brahmā, Isvara and Vishnu. These caves are assigned to the Vishnukundin, and early Eastern Chalukya kings, who ruled in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The Śiva and Vishnu caves at Bādāmi excavated by the early Chalukyas, also affirm the religious tolerance. In Ellora, caves of Buddhist, Hindu and Jaina faiths were excavated side by side. In the Hindu group of temples dedicated to Siva, sculptured panels of Vishnu are noticed on one side and Siva on the other side as in the caves of Rameśvara, and Rāvan-ka-khai.

In the extreme South the Pandyas of Madurai were equally powerful when the Pallavas were at their height in Tondaimandalam. They have left a number of cave temples which are generally ascribed to 7–8th

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1. *māyāvinā yena padatrayārthinā sadya pravṛddhena punarbalermakhe,*
   vicakrame trijagatas svasātkṛtah namostu bhūtyai Bhagavānstrivikramah
2. *maulavindudharah, phanādhara dharah skandhe, bhavāni dharah vāme, kāmadharah praṇāmanirato, gaṅgādharo mūrdhani mūrtau dhūlidharah gale garadharah keśeshu veṇīdharah pāṇau śūladharah harah puraharah puśṇātu vo maṅgalam*
3. *kaṇṭhe kaustubha kālikābharaṇayoh chāyām parām bibhratau daityadhvamsana cakrapaṭṭasadharau śyāmāvadātau ruca śri gaurīvilasat kaṭākśaviśikha vyāyāma romāñcitau pāyāstām bhavatah trivikramaharau sampṛkta dehāntarau*
   — Kasakkudi copper plates
4. *pāyāt śāṅkarīmurtih śaśārdhāṇkura śekrahā pratipaddina paryante sandhyeva sakalānatā*
   — Pullur copper plates

century A.D. The lower rock cut cave at Tiruchirapalli is in the form of a rectangular *mandapa*, with two excavated cells, one on each side of the cave. In one cell is enshrined Śiva, while on the other is Vishnu. On the rear of the same cave are panels in a row, representing Ganesa, Subrahmanya, Brahmā, Sūrya and Durga. At Tirumeyyam in the former Pudukkottai State, there are two excavated caves side by side, assigned to 7th century A.D. of which one is dedicated to Śiva and the other to Vishnu as Anantasāyi.

The Śaiva *āgamas* specify the erection of a *parivārālaya* (subsidiary shrine) in Śaivite temples. The worship of Vishnu, is an integral part of *nitya pūja* in Śaivite temples. Vishnu is invariably represented (in most of the cases as Yoga Narasimha) on the top of the *vimāna* at the back side, and is also seen at the lower back niche of the *garbhagṛha*. Of the other two sides, the south is allotted to Dakshinamurthi and north to Brahmā which again is a crystallization of the same concept mentioned above. The Śivalinga which comprises of the three parts, Brahmā, Vishnu and Rudra *bhāgas*, emphasize the same principle. Both the *pāncarātra* and *vaikhānasa āgamas* of the Vaishnavite faith, also specify the erection of a subsidiary shrine to Śiva in Vishnu temples. There are many ancient Vishnu temples in South India, where Dakshinamurthi is noticed on the *vimānas*. The Sundaravaradaperumal temple of Uttaramerur, built in the time of Nandivarman (750 A.D.) carries the figure of Dakshinamurthi in the upper storeys of the *vimāna* on its southern side. At Nagalapuram, there is a Vishnu temple dedicated to Vedanārāyana, built in the time of the great Vijayanagara ruler, Krishnadēvarāya, wherein we find the image of Dakshinamurthi on the south *devakōṣṭa*.

It is therefore evident, that the misunderstanding between various sects, reflected in some of our literature, should be taken to represent a small group of people who were extreme in their faith, and that such an occurence, in the long history of a great nation, is relatively insignificant and that our great teachers like Valluvar, Sankara and Rāmānuja sought to emphasize the underlying unity of all these concepts, by reflecting the *sanātana dharma, Ekam sat viprā bahudhā vadanti.*

PAY-STRUCTURE UNDER RAJARAJA CHOLA

Temple administration has received great attention at the hands of religious-minded people, administrators and economists. It would be interesting to compare the economy and administration of temples in ancient times and study the qualifications, wage structure and other service conditions of temple servants, in terms of modern currency.

We have enough epigraphical records to let us have a complete picture of the administrative set-up of a South Indian temple, about one thousand years ago. The great temple of Thanjavur, built by Rājarāja Chola I in about 1000 A.D. furnishes remarkable data about the temple set-up. The epigraphs engraved on the walls of the temple categorically state that they were orders issued directly by the head of the Government the Emperor himself.

A careful analysis of the epigraphs reveal the thoroughness with which the administration was organised by the emperor and his personal supervision in implementing the transactions. Rājarāja's personal touch is perceptibly visible in every aspect of the administration of this temple.

The main tower of the temple was erected by Rājarāja and the enclosure was erected under his orders by his Commander-in-Chief, Krishnan Rāman *alias* Mummudichola Brahmamārāyan. The entire temple adminstration was under the control of one Ādittan Sūryan, *alias* Tennavan Mūvēndavēlān, obviously a high ranking officer of the king.

Rājarāja gifted the taxes due to the royal treasury from a number of villages towards the maintenance of the temple. The epigraph listing each village, gives the total measurement of the entire village, the area exempted from paying taxes, the tax-paying lands and the actual tax to be paid in grain or cash per annum. The lands exempted from paying, tax include temples, the front yards of the temples, lakes, tanks and canals the residential areas of artisans, agriculturists and others whom we now bring under the scheduled castes. The cemeteries were also exempted from taxes.

The measurements given in the inscriptions are so detailed and minute, suggesting that the land survey under Rājarāja was at its best.

The Chola epigraphs clearly state and 1/6 of the produce (16.65 per cent) was levied as tax. Judging from that standard, one *veli* of land seems to have yielded a total of 550 to 600 *kalams* of paddy per year. This, in modern assessment would be considered a bumper crop. A village like Turaiyur in Tiruchi district paid an annual tax of 15,000 *kalams* of paddy which shows that the total paddy grown in that the village, was about 90,000 *kalams.* It is not only indicates the fertility of the soil but also the efforts of the agriculturists to obtain the optimum from the lands.

Every object given to the temple, no matter however small, was entered in the temple records which accurate descriptions. From the minutest spoon to the magnificent icons, all were counted, measured, weighed and entered not only in the temple registers but also on stone walls. The complete list of articles that the temple possessed together which their value and measurement can be straightway furnished even now.

The museum pandits of modern times would be surprised to know that each and every icon in the temple of Rājarāja had accurate descriptions, its measurements from head to foot, the number of arms, the length, breadth and height of the pedestal, the form of the pedestal, the metal with which the idol was made and even the weight, in detail.

Literally tens thousands of pearls and precious gems were gifted and every one of the pearl was counted; even broken pearls, pearls with skin peeled off were not exempted from entries. Sources from where these were obtained and the treasury in which they were deposited are mentioned, meticulously. When jewels were gifted the separate weight of gold, the number of pearls, precious gems, their weight and the total weight of the jewels, etc., are given for each and every ornament together with its cost of making.

All categories of temple servants, from the priests to the sweeper, are listed in the inscription. The temple servants may be broadly divided into three categories as (1) general administrators like treasurers, accountants, etc., (2) ritualists like the priests, singers of Tamil and Vedic hymns, musicans and dancers and (3) general servants like watchmen, sweeper, tailors, jewel stickers, architects, etc. For the appoint-

ment of all categories of temple servants, Rājarāja insisted (and makes special mention of) proper qualification and integrity. Only those who had landed property, sufficient wealth and circle of relatives, were appointed as temple treasurers and accountants. This condition seems to have been stipulated as a check or what may now be called surety, for handling money and property. In case of loss or defalcation, it should be possible for the temple to recover the value either from the incumbent or from his relatives. The treasurer received the higest pay while the accountant got about Rs. 1,600 per month in modern value. An assistant accountant got about Rs. 600 per month.

In arriving at the above value in modern currency, and also for the other wages given below, I have taken the market value of one Madras measure of rice as Rs. 4. Also one measure of rice as is equated approximately with two measures of paddy. The measurement give in the inscriptions are the old measurements as *āḻākku*, *uḻakku*, *uri*, *nāḻi*, *kuruni*, and *kalam*, which can easily be equated with modern measures, though there are some ambiguities and variations in some areas.

Rājarāja has simplified the pay structure of the temple servants by taking one share as 100 kalams of paddy per annum which approximately would come to about Rs. 800 per month. All the payments were calculated as one unit, etc.

The treasurers and accountants paid the wages of all the temple treasury; but were not permitted to draw their wages themselves from the same treasury. They have to receive it from the city treasury which was obviously a check on the paying officers.

In modern times a servent is kept temporary or parmanent by the appointing authority, but in Rājarāja's time the option was given to the servant himself. One can choose to serve temporarily or parmanently by those who took a vow to serve permanently received higher wages.

In the appointment of dancing girls, Rājarāja gives the welldrafted service rules which were applicable to all classes of temple servants. Even for the dancing girls, Rājarāja specifies proper qualification (*Yogyrāhyirup-pār*). The due qualification for a dancing girl, according to the Nātya sāstra of Bharatha is that "she should know all aspects of music and must

be a musician herself. "She must know all aspects of dance and must be young and beautiful. She should never be lazy but must constantly be practising her art."

It was stipulated that in case of death or migration to other places, the immediate descendant or relative may do the service (what we may call hereditary right) but one who has not got the proper qualification cannot perform the duty. However they were given the right to choose a duly qualified person and get the duty done through him or her. The provision was made as a service security for the descendants of the temple servants. If qualified persons were not available, the temple administrators reserved the right to appoint a qualified person. This clearly shows the emperor's interest in the welfare and security of the families of the temple servants; at the same time, there was no question of any hereditary right without due qualification.

A dancing girl in the temple got a monthly emolument of Rs. 800. This is in addition to free quarters and an award of annual cash something in the nature of a bonus. Monthly remuneration of others are the dance-masters who were males, got Rs. 1600. The superintendants for the dancing girls, and the chief instrumentalists got Rs. 1600. Other musicians and instrument players got Rs. 1200. Singers of Vedic as well as Tamil hymns got an equal wage of Rs. 1200. A Vina player got 1400.

Wages for the other services are equally interesting. A washerman tailor or barber got Rs. 800 per month. A jewelsticker's wage was Rs. 1200, The architect whose name is given as Rājarāja perumtaccan, (obviously the sthapati who built the great temple) got Rs. 1200 and his assistant Rs. 600. The minimum wage in the temple was Rs. 400 per month.

To protect the temples and its valuables there were more than 125 watchmen. They were selected by various villages and took guard in rotation. Each watchman was paid Rs. 800 a month. In addition they must be paid a travelling allowance from their village to Thanjavur, when they have to go for their turn and also daily allowance during their period of duty.

For the purpose of providing various offerings, Rājarāja, his sister, queens, his commanders, soldiers, village assemblies, merchant guilds and even ordinary servants endowed properties in kind and cash. When cash

was endowed, the cash was not allowed to be locked up in the temple treasury but was put to productive use. They were taken on loan by recognised institutions like the village assemblies or the merchant guilds, the village assemblies investing them on agricultural operations and the guilds for commercial purposes. The investments yielded an annual interest of 12½ percent.

For burning lamps, goats, cows or buffaloes were gifted. For maintaining one perpetual lamp, 96 goats, or 48 cows or 16 buffaloes were the fixed rates. If one goat's value is taken as Rs. 100 (cow Rs. 200, buffaloe 600) in modern currency, about Rs. 10,000 would have to be deposited for offering a lamp. One *kasu* of Rājarāj's time fetched three goats.

Temple properties–both land and cash–were entrusted to people of proven honesty and Integrity; there was not much disparity between the wages of various temple servants and that their pay structure was not only attractive but also on rational footing.

SRIRANGAM TEMPLE UNDER KULOTTUNGA-I

Introduction

The life of the great Vaishnava saint Rāmānuja is intimately connected with Srirangam temple. The then Chola ruler, is said to have persecuted Ramanuja, which compelled him, to go to the court of the Hoysala ruler Vishnuvardhana in disguise, and after the death of the Chola ruler returned to Srirangam. Ramanuja's date of brith is placed in circa 1017 A.D. that is in the reign of Rājēndra Chola-I. If that be so, the only Chola ruler who could have persecuted him, would be Kulottunga I. Till recent times Kulottunga was believed to have ruled for fifty years (1070-1120). Recently the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology has found an inscription which gives 56 years of rule to Kulottunga I;[1] so he should have reigned atleast upto 1125 A.D. The legend of Rāmānuja's persecution in the hands of the Chola ruler, portrays the Chola as an antagonist of Vaishnava faith.[2] It would therefore be interesting to study the condition of Srirangam temple under this Chola ruler. This is only a study of the temple under Rāmānuja and does not attempt to solve any problem connected with the life of that immortal saint. But this study should necessarily be borne in mind while studying the life of Rāmānuja, for it is necessary to know whether the Srirangam temple in any way suffered in the hands of Kulottunga.

This study shows in no unmistakable terms, that the Srirangam temple suffered in no way during the reign of Kulottunga I. Among the Chola inscriptions found in the temple, by far the largest number, are in the reign of Kulottunga I. Among the 105 Chola inscriptions recorded in the temple, as many as 65 epigraphs are in the reign of Kulottunga I and 14 inscriptions are dated in the reign of Vikramachola, Kulottunga's son. That means, the temple has received maximum benefactions, during Rāmānuja's sojourn at Srirangam. (between 1070 to 1125).

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1. Dharmapurai District, Salivaram inscription, T. N. I. 17/1976
2. Guruparampara

Kulottunga's inscriptions are found from his very first year to the end of his reign. Even among the 65 inscriptions, nearly 1/3rd of them are dated between Kulottunga's 40th and 50th years; that is the period when Rāmānuja is said to have been persecuted. Suffice it to say that the picture that emerges from the epigraphical study, is that the period of Kulottunga I, was the most prosperous period for the Srirangam temple under the Cholas.

Kulottunga's Personal Devotion

It is of great interest to note that on *pūsam*, that natal star of Kulottunga I, special festivals were instituted in the temple every month. In 1110 A.D. (46th year) Kulottunga himself purchased certain lands at Sriudavur, which were under *tirāppu* tenure and converted it into a *dēvatāna iraiyily*, by paying a lumpsum amount and arranged for special festival, sacred bath and offerings on the day of *pūsam*, his natal star. The special offering began from the 40th year of the King.[1] Another, but fragmentary epigraph refers to *pūsatirunāl* of Kulottunga performed every month.[2] This shows Kulottunga's intimate connection with the temple of Srirangam. Two of the records, are personal orders of Kulottunga, making certain modification in the land tenure and taxes in favour of the temple. One of the queens of Kulottunga Lokamahādevi, was a great patron of Srirangam temple. Her officers bought some lands and made a gift of them to the temple at the request of one Nārāyanabhatta.[3] Another royal lady, Tennavan Mahādevi, the queen of Rājendra (probably Rājendra II) made provisions in the temple for the expenses of certain specified festivals in Kulottunga's reign.[4] She is called Rājarājan Arulmoḻi alias Tennavan Mahādevi the queen of Rājendra deva in another epigraph[5] also gave money for giving alms to devotees. These royal involvements in the temple show the keen interest taken by the Chola ruler in the Srirangam temple during the life time of Rāmānuja.

That Sriranganatha was called Pallikondaruliya Anantanārāyanaswami, in the reign of Parantaka I, (10th century A.D.) is mentioned in

1. A. R. E. 261-1947-48
2. „ 168-1951-52
3. „ 8-1948-49
4. A. R. E. 125-1947-48
5. „ 126-1947-48

one of Kulottunga's inscription.[1] In Kulottunga's time also, Sriranganātha was called Ananthanārāyanaswāmi.[2]

Thiruvaymoli Hymns

It is well known that the sacred hymns Thiruvāymoḷi of attracted great attention in many temples and Rāmānuja is said to have had a great hand in propagating this practise. Two inscriptions of Kulottunga refer to provisions made for singing, Thiruvāymoḷi hymns. The first was in the 15th year of Kulottunga I (1075 A.D.) which is perhaps the earliest reference to the singing of these hymns in the temple. The endowment was made by a Commander-in-Chief-*Senāpatigal* Vīrachola Munaiyadaraiyan of Kottur, who gifted 50 Kalanju of gold for that purpose. The Thiruvāymoḷi was sung as *Paḷḷi eḻuchi*. It is of interest that the endowment was given in the hands of a group of Araiyans, who also had the name 'mannār' added to their names. The other record is dated in the 40th year of Kulottunga I (1110 A.D.) and refers to a gift of land for the recitation of *Thiruvāymoḷi.*

It must be noted that the name of Rāmānuja does not occur either in the epigraphs of Kulottunga I or his predecessors. In fact the first reference, so far as I could see, occurs in the 5th year of Rājendra Chōla III 1250 A.D., nearly 125 years after Rāmānuja's demise. The inscription refering to Rāmānuja also does not mention the great teacher, but refers to a land of Rāmānuja *(ராமானுஜன் சற்றுக்குலை).*

Srikaryam

During the reign of Kulottunga I, four officers held the post of *srikāryam* in the temple. In 1075 A.D. (the tenth year) Bhuvana Nārayāna Mūvenda Vēlar was the *srikāryam.* From the 20th year (1096 to 1110 A.D.) to the 40th year, one Viravidyādhara Mūvēndavēlān hold that post. His surname was Sīrālan Thiruchirrambalam Udaiyān. While Nitya Vinoda Mūvēndavēlār hold the post in the 44th year, a certain Nārāyana Bhattan is also mentioned as the *srikaryam,* but the date when he hold the post is not known as the regnal year is lost. While the last mentioned seems to be a Vaishnava Brahmin, the other three were Mūvenda Vēlārs, which

1. A. R. E. 18-48-49 2. A. R. E. 120-47-48

indicates that the persons who hold this important post of (Chief Administrative Officer), *Srikāyam* may belong to any caste.

Flower Gardens

More than ten new flower gardens (*nandavanam*) were raised during the 30 years from 1085 A.D. Three of the gardens were endowed by ladies, one of them being a Pāndya princess. A land was purchased at the instance of one Nishadarājan, and endowed for raising a flower garden in the name of the Pāndya Princess, Neriyan Mādēvi. Provisions were also made for the servents. A "*Gunavalli nandavānam*" was raised by a lady Gnanavalli alias Kadavur Udaiyal, by purchasing a land which was lying follow for over one hundred years, due to floods in Kāveri.[1] A lady Siriyāndāl Sāni, daughter Of Ātreyan Dāmōdara Nārāyanan, and wife of Tāyanambi Pirān, raised a flower garden in 1115 A.D.[2] Thirumalavadi Udaiyān alias Rājavallabha Pallavaraiya. Ātkondavilli of Adanur, Neriyan Mūvēndavēlān alias Vēdavanamuḍaiyān are other donors who raised new *nandavanams*. A husband and wife have endowed two flower gardens in their name. The male member was a Commander, Senāpati whose name was Taliyil Madhurāntaka *alias* Rājēndra Chōla Kiḍārattaraiyan and his wife was Rājakēsarivalli, Provisions were also made for the two servants to maintain the garden. Another Senapati, Ilangōvēlar, purchased a land and gifted a *nandavanam*.

Floods in Kaveri

Over nine inscriptions refer to floods in Kaveri which laid waste a number of lands. One inscription says that the land was uncultivable for the past 50 years on account of sand silt, thrown by the overflow of the river Kaveri, [3] Four inscriptions state that[4] the lands were lying waste for over one hundred years and the others state, that the lands were follow for long, due to sand silt thrown by the overflooding of Kaveri. Generally, the Chola records are accurate. If we take the years 50 and 100 years recorded as nearly accurate, it would indicate that

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1. A.R.E. 112-47 2. A.R.E. 15-48 3. A.R.E. 118-49
4. " 112-48, 131-47-48, 119-47-48, 130-1947-48

overflooding of Kaveri has occured atleast twice in hundred years, causing considerable damage to the fields and crops. That means Kaveri has flooded disasterously in the reign of Rājendra I and earlier in the reign of Uttamachōla. The villages which were flooded like this were Karkudi in Vilathurnādu, Kāraikkudi in Vilanādu, Turaikkudi and Tandarai. These records also show that considerable attention was paid to the reclamation of sand silted, lands along the banks of river Kaveri in the time of Kulottunga.

In Tandarai, one *Veli* of such land cost one *kāsu.*[1] In another case 4 *Veli* of land was bought for 220 *Drammas.*[2]

Eight *kalams* of paddy per *veli* of land was levied per annum by the temple treasury. In another inscription the quantity is not given. The lands were purchased by the individuals and brought under cultivation and paid certain quantity to the temple treasury towards the maintenance of the garden. All the lands sold, belonged originally to the temple but became waste lands due to inundation. Certain officers of Kulottunga's queen Lokamādēvi, bought such lands, on behalf of the queen and brought them under cultivation. The lands were bought free of all taxes for the first five years from the year of purchase and there after to pay some specific quantity to the temple treasury. This was an inducement to the new cultivator: We have noted that one *Veli* of sand-silted land was sold at one *Kāsu* per *Veli* in Kulottunga reign. But in the reign of the same ruler (1085 A.D.) one *veli* of land was sold for two *kasu,*[3] which seems to be the value of a cultivatable land.

Land tenure

There are three interesting records in the reign of Kulotunga relating to land tenure. In the year 1084 A.D. Kulottunga ordered certain modification in the levy of paddy to be paid to the temple treasury. In 1110 A.D. Kulottunga ordered the conversion of a *tirappu* tenure on certain lands at Sirudavur into a *devatāna* tenure by payment of certain lumpsum and utilise the same for the sacred bath of deity. The third transaction relates to a village assembly. The *Perunguri Sabha,* (village assembly) converted a *iraiyili* tenure (tax free tenure) into a *irai kāval* tenure in

1. A.R.E. 118-47-48 2. A.R.E. 108-47-48 3. A.R.E. 114-47-48

1072 A.D. and for 40 years it continued to remain an *iraikāval* tenure. But in 1114 it was again reconverted into a *iraiyili* tenure.[1]

There is an interesting inscription which deserves mention. The *Sabha* of Chandralekhai Chaturvedimangalam (Sendalai) borrowed 400 *Kalanju* from this temple in the year (916 A.D.) of Parāntaka Chola, but it did not pay the interest till the 10th year of Kulottunga I, for 165 years. The *Sabha* sold 6 *Velis* of land towards the interest on this sum, and the land was designated as *Poliyuttuparru* (i.e. land to pay interest).

One Thiru. Ānandamurti Arulālan alias Vīrarājēndra Pallavaraiyan bought a land and constituted it as a *brahmadeya* called *aindambākkilān brahmadeyam* after his own name in 1094 A.D. Another land gift was endowed by Vandālanjēri Udaiyān Vellālan alias Vānakōvaraiyan of Thirunaraiyur. The proceeds were to be utilised for the sacred bath of the deity on the day of Ekadasi. The donor comes from the same place Vandālanjeri, from where Karunakara Tondaiman, the general of Kulottunga, who conquered Kalinga on behalf of his ruler hailed from. The Vānakōvaraiyan was second in command to Karunakara Tondaiman and accompanied him to Kalinga. He is celebrated along with Karunakara Tondaiman in *Kalingathupparani* of Jayamkondar.

Devoted Chieftains

The following are the chieftains who took keen interest in Srirangam temple in the reign of Kulottunga.

1. Adittanār alias Kādavarāya[2]
2. Villavarāyar[3]
3. Sadaiyan Sēndan[4]
4. Parthivēndra Brahmādirāyan[5]
5. Kaduvangudaiyān Ādithan Thiruvarangadēvan alias Virudarāja Bhayankara Vijayapālan[6]
6. Rājēndra Mūvēndavēlār[7]
7. Ponnambala Kūttan alias Kalingarāyar[8]

1. A. R. E. 22-48-49 2. A. R. E. 9-48-49 3. A. R E. 23-48-49.
4. ,, 20-48-49. 5. ,, 106-47-48. 6. ,, 108-48-49.
7. ,, 168-51-52. 8. ,, 131-47-48.

8. Isvarakulakāla Brahmarāyar[1]
9. Rājēndrachōla Adiyamān *alias* Araiyan Sevan
10. Udaiyār Kāränai Vilupparaiyar[2]
11. Thirumaḷapādi *alias* Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyan.[3]
12. Neriyan Mūvēndavēlān *alias* Vēdavanamuḍaiyān[4]
13. Nishadarājan[5]
14. Rājēndra Chola Mahābalivānādhirājan[6]
15. Thiruvanantamūrti Arulālan *alias* Vīrarājendra Pallavaraiyan[7]
16. Koṭṭur udaiyān Araiyan Rājēndra Chōlan[8]
17. Rājēndra Chōḷa Munaiyadaraiyan[9]
18. Kārānai Vilupparaiyar[10]
19. Atkondavilli of Ādanur[11]

Devoted commanders

Besides the above chieftains mentioned, six Commanders of Kulottunga I, are seen actively promoting the interest of the temple and endowing lands to the temple. They are:—

1. Sēnāpati Rājanārāyana Munaiyadarayan *alias* Kottūr udaiyān Araiyan Rājēndrachōlan[12]
2. Senāpati Kulasekarakōn[13]
3. Senāpatiyal Taliyil Madurāntakan *alias* Rājēndra Chola Kidārattaraiyar[14]
4. Senāpati Ilangovēlan[15]
5. Vandālanjeri Udaiyān Vellālan *alias* Vānakovaraiyan[16]
6. Koṭṭurudaiyān Āyarkoḷundu Chakrapāni *alias* Senāpatigal Vīrachola Munaiyadaraiyan.[17]

1.	A. R. E.	130-47-48	7.	A. R. E.	335-52-53	13.	A. R. E.	304-53-54
2.	,,	133-47-48	8.	,,	67-51-52	14.	,,	3-48-49
3.	,,	123-47-48	9.	,,	132-47-48	15.	,,	136-47-48
4.	,,	109-48-49	10.	,,	131-47-48	16	,,	210-51-52
5.	,,	114-47-48	11.	,,	2-48-49	17.	,,	61-1892
6	,,	3-48-49	12.	,,	167-51-52			

Among the above commanders the last mentioned was a Vellāla, while Senāpati Kulasekarakon was a shepered, who had risen to the status of a commander.

In the reign of Kulottunga, the names of certain measures used in the temple are preserved.

1. Pallikondān Marakkāl[1]
2. Rājakēsari measure[2]

An inscription refers to the existence of a *Srivaishnava Vāryam.*

There is an interesting record dated in the reign of Kulottunga. It refers to arrears amounting to 940 *kasu*, payable by some individuals to the temple treasury. An Officer Rājēndrachola Mūvēndevēlār is said to have enquired into the case and settled the amount. One of the individuals involved in the case seems to have served a period of imprisonment (*Sirai Irundu*).[3] Another record of interest refers to the coin *Drammas.* Four *velis* of land (fallow) were bought for a sum of two hundred and twenty *Drammas.* The *Drammas* is probably the name derived from *Darchmas* of the Roman coinage.[4]

Another interesting record refers to one Thiruvarangadevan who was a barbar (*ambattan*) as a signatory of a document.

Conclusion

The study of Srirangam epigraphs of the time of Kulottunga-I the personal interest of the king in the temple, the devotion of the queens and their endowments, the provisions for the recitation of Thiruvāimoḷi twice in the same reign, the endowments of flower gardens the reclamation of silted lands, institution of festivals etc., show a period of great activity in the temple, and its prosperous condition, which is totally at variance with the popular notion and beliefs. This makes us to appeal for a scientific study of the subject.

1. A. R. E. 109-48-49
2 ,, 32-48-49
3. A. R. E. 168-51-52
4. ,, 108-47-48

A JUDGEMENT OF THE CHOLA PERIOD

An inscription recently copied by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology throws some light on the administration of Justice in mediaeval period. The epigraph comes from the Agnisvara temple of Tamaraippakkam and belongs to 11th century A.D. It is dated in the reign of Rājēndra Chola II.

Brief History

The history of the case is briefly as follows. Two brothers of a family quarelled among themselves. The elder brother slapped the younger who retaliated and as a result the elder died. The father of them, took the case to the guild. The guild enquired into the case and delivered the judgement.

The brothers who quarelled and their parents belonged to the Vellala community. The Vellalas had their professional guilds called *Chitramēḷi Nāḍu.* The Chitramēḷi guild, had its own *prasasti* like the rulers and seems to have derived constitutional authority to deal with matters of their own group. This particular guild was named after the ruling monarch and was called *Rājēndra Chola Chitramēḷi Perukkālar.* The proceedings of the enquiry are recorded in the form of questions and answers.

Translation

Hail prosperiry

The fifth regnal year of Parakesari Rājēndra Chola deva, who was pleased to be seated on the heroic throne, having performed victory anointment, defeated Āhavamalla at Koppam on the banks of Peraru; captured his war elephants, horses, women and treasures; and also captured Irattappādi and Lanka.

The *Chitramēḷi* who are *Bhūmidevi putrās* (the sons of the earth) and born of the four *varnās,* order thus for the well being of all the worlds.

We the *Chitramēḷi Perukkālar* (the guild), the sons of Mother earth, striving for the growth of *dharma* and fame, and for the removal of Kali (the dark age), holding the sceptre of Justice as God, and administering the *Chitramēḷi dharma*, which echoes in all the directions heard the Vellāla, Taḷik Konnavan of Tarupperu, residing at Kannapura, in Putanalappāḍināḍu, which formed part of Selururnāḍu, south of Pangalanāḍu, who came and represented:—

'When my son Sankarattaḍiyān and my son, Periyān were quarelling among themselves, the elder brother, out of spite beat the younger and the younger returned the blow. The elder died by the blow of his younger'.

We enquired:—

'Have you any other children apart from these two'.

He replied:-

'No. I have no other children. Only myself and my wife, the mother of these sons are alive'.

We enquired,

"Have you any property"?

He replied,

"No property what-so-ever"

We order

Since a family has fallen into troubles, and as there was none to protect them and as they own no property, he (the younger son) should provide for half of a perpetual lamp, to Lord Mahadeva of Thiru Agnisvara, in Thiru Tāmaraippākkam. He should protect the aged father and mother. Having examined the course of justice (*dharma*) we order that he need not suffer capital punishment on account of this. This is a *suddha paṭṭika.*

Having examined this we order that he need not be attached any further for this.

This is the order of *perukkālar.* One who challanges the validity of this order, will be a sinner against the *periya nāḍu.* This is the signature of *chitramēḷi nāṭṭu bhaṭṭa.* The Vellāla, Kiḷavan Kesanpāḍi of Perambanur, residing at Kurāppākkam in Maṇḍaikkulanāḍu, give my consent to this (decision).

I, Sēkkiḷān Attimallan Sīrālan of Ilattūr, agree to this.
I, Kiḷavan Āṟṟi Āḍavallān of Tāmaraippākam, agree to this.
I, Vellāla, Kuṭṭeran Porkāḷi of Iḷankāḍu, living at Vayallāmūr, agree to this.
I, Sāvala Kāḍāḍi Manikaṇḍan of Kiranur agree.
I, Maravettan Irungōlan of Ganganallur in Pāḍanāḍu agree.
I, Vellālan Nakkan Periyān of Vāränur, living at Tacca Talānāpadi, agree.
I, Sātanta Muḷān Kuṭṭeran of Kalikkorrappāḍi agree.
I, Vellāla, Ananta Prithivi Karumānikka, of Somāsippādi, agree.
I, Sevaran, Chitramelināḍu Udaiyān, of Pallikalnāḍu of paramandalam.
I, Thiruvaludināḍan a Brahmana, of Bhāradvāja gotra drafted this Paṭṭāngu,

This is my signature."

Conclusion

The following points emerge from the study of the above document.

The ancient Hindus recognised the authority of the professional guilds to settle matters of dispute. Bhrigu, recognises 15 kinds of courts among which courts presided over by professional guilds was also one. These courts are held by some authorities, as purely arbitration courts with no authority to try serious cases of crime relating to violence, theft etc.[1]

In the case under study the professional guild *chitramēḷi periya nāḍu* enquired into the crime. It shows that by 11th century A.D., the arbitrary powers of guild have extended even to try serious crimes like murder.

The second point of interest in this inscription is the proceedings recorded in direct speech. The *dharma sāstras* make it clear that the statements of the parties should be written as uttered by them and in their very presence.

The third point worthy of note is that for such crimes as murder, the punishment prescribed seems to be the capital punishment though this

1. Ancient Hindu Judicature p. 9

was not awarded in this case. But the statement in this record "He need not die for this" shows that capital punishment was prevelant during that period. The guild, in this case, took a sympathetic view of the case. The parents neither had property nor children or relatives to look after them. So the guild considered it sufficient if the offender was punished to burn a perpetual lamp in the local temple by paying certain amount which incidentally also served as an expiatory rite.

'The association of penances with punishment for crime, is itself a recognition of the distinction between the reparation or compensation aspect or the punishment or reformation aspect. According to the *svadharma* theory, a crime being a deviation from the offenders *dharma* involved not merely harm to society but also degradation or loss of caste to the offender and thus made him (1) unworthy of social communion and (2) unfit to perform spiritual acts. Hence arose the necessity for expiation'.[1]

In coming to this decision, the guild says that they have deliberated on the provisions of *dharma* and arrived at the judgement. There is certainly a human touch to the case and the society cared more for the human values is evident in this case.

The guild also gave this charter as *a suddha paṭṭika* purificatory deed. *visuddhi patra* was a document awarded to a party who underwent certain purificatory ceremonies for some offences'.[2] The charter also includes two clauses (1) The offender should not be attached any further for the same crime and (2) one who challenges the verdict is a sinner against the guild'. These two provisions were intended to assure, social equality and punishment for those who spoke ill of him. Such documents were given in written form as well as prescribed in *dharma sāstra,* is worthy of note.

The deed uses the word *paṭṭāngu* for the judgement. The scribe, who wrote the document was a brahmin, writing under orders of the guild.

The deed is a document of the *visuddhi patra* class, throwing valuable light on the administration of justice during the chola period.

1. S. Varadachariar "The Hiudu Judicial system" Lucknow 1946-p-218.
2. Ancient Hindu Judicature p. 109.

A SOCIO - POLITICAL COMPACT OF THE CHOLA PERIOD

An inscription, dated 1258 A.D. from Chengam in North Arcot district throws interesting light on defections from parent party, the steps taken by the society to deal with the situation and the socio political compact entered into by the society, which falls within the category of *Sthithi* or *Samvid patra* of the *dharma sāstrās.* The case as recorded in the inscription is briefly as follows, *Karikālachōḷa āḍaiyūr nāḍāḷvān* was ruling the territorial division Ādaiyur Nāḍu, which comprises the present Chengam area. He was faithfully assisted by his brother Narasinga. But three sons of this Narasinga, whose names are given as Periyaudaiyan, Arasagal Nāyan and Amaṭṭāḷvan, left the parental party and joined the opposing party headed Karuppakkaṭṭi Nāyaka. This was considered a crime against the crown and also betrayal of the country (*Rājadroha* and *desa droha: Engal Nāyanmārkum Engalukkum pahai tēdi,*) This situation has to be met firmly. All the representatives of the territory, which included territorial commanders, legal professionals, soldiers, commanders, the members of the merchantile guilds, accountants, revenue professionals, artisan guilds, agricultural guilds, hunters, brahmins and members of all the communities and castes including Paraiahs, Pānars, Sakkiliyars, and others whom we now call Harijans. The inscription after detailing the representatives of all the castes, states specifically the entire community beginning from the highest caste to the lowest caste assembled. The assembly first decided that an opportunity should be given to the defectors to return to the parental party and so sent a written letter to them mentioning that they will be forgiven for their faults if they return to the parental party. They were assured that there will be no need to hesitation for fear of victimisation and some prominent members even gave a surity for the safe treatment. But this reconciliatory move was rejected and the defectors joined the opposing party which was despised. (*veruppānapērudanē kūḍi*).

Now having offered an opportunity which the defectors refused, the assembly took far reaching decisions which are carefully recorded in the

inscription. Some of which are worth mentioning. The defectors were declared betrayers of the country. They were betrayers excommunicated and listed among those deprived of their wives. Neither those three nor their descendants would be allowed to enter the territory. The assembly should have no track with those who joined with the three or gave them assylum and those who joined would be considered, defaulters against the state and would meet with capital punishment. The ladies who agreed to marry or live as concubines of the three or their followers to be punished.

This interesting decision of the entire territory was taken in front of the Piḍāri temple of the village on a Tuesday after sacrificing goats and offering special worship. This decision of the assembly is called *Nilaimai Pramāna* in the inscription.

The decision is in confirmity with the dictates of the ancient *dharma sāstrās*. According to Vyāsa and Prajāpati, there are ten varieties of written documents prepared by the agreeing parties, which will form a source of evidence in the case of future disputes. Such written documents are called *lekhya pramāna*, one of the three evidences in law disputes. Among the three varieties of documents, the agreement entered into between merchants, townsmen and other collection of individuals, fixing a certain mode of conduct among themselves, is called *Sthitipatra*. According Sukraniti the same is called *Samvidpatra*, which is taken to protect the integrity of the country.

Grāmah, desah ca yat kuryāt
Satya lekhyam parasparam,
Rajāvirodhi dharmārtham
Samvit patram tad ucyate'. —Sukra nīdhi

It is interesting to note that the same legal term used in the *dharma sāstrās* as *sthithipatra* is found in this 13th century inscription, (in its Tamil form) as *nilamai pramāna*. It must also be mentioned that at the time of this record in 1258 A.D. the chola imperial power was shaken and there was real external danger for the territory which made the whole community to raise as one man and deal firmly with the defectors to safeguard the interests of the country.

Translation

Hail prosperity

In the expired Saka era one thousand one hundred and eighty, in the month of Avani (Simha), the dark fortnight, trithiyai (Third day) Sunday when Revati was the star, the (people of) foot hills, hills, nādus, falling within . . . . to the west of the river Eliyara, in Adaiyurnādu and Nādus inclusive of hill and nādus falling within the territories to the east of Siningai and west of Mūvarai Venra Nallur in Tenkarainādu, the inhabitants of Nādus falling within these two banks who included Nāttārs the Nāyaks of these Nādus.

Administrators of justice
Pillai mudalis
individuals
Commanders of the army
the leaders of individuals
the paid soldiers
Kontaviccādira
the Tenparrunaṭṭār of Naviramalai
Nāṭṭu Mudalis
the Naṭṭar of Vadamalai
Nāṭṭumudali, and people of various communities
the Malaiyalas of the foot hills (hills tribes) Malaiyala Mudalis
the Mudunīr Malayālas.
Malaiyaran Mudalis
Chettis
Vanigas (business men)
Kanakkars (accountants)
Karumaperum pannāṭṭavar
Pannāṭṭu Mudalis
Porkorra Kaikkolar
Āndār
Sivabrāhmanas
Manrādis

Uvaccars
Vadatalainā*ṭṭ*ār of Tenkarai.
The Nā*ṭṭ*ārs of Tenmalainā*ḍ*u
Pulavars
Pannūvār
Nyāyattār
The twelve Panimakkal
Perum Vēdar (hunters)
Pānars
Paraiyars
Parai Mudali
Sakkilis
Irulas

People belonging to all these *jatis* beginning from Brahmin the highest, to Arippan the lowest

we entered into this perpetual compact (*nilaimai pramāna*)

When our ruler Amaṭṭan Karikāla Chola Āḍaiyur Nādālvān, was pleased to rule, obeying his orders, his younger brother Nayanār Narasinga panmar was pleased to follow his steps

Periuḍaiyān, his brother Arasaga nāyan, the sons of Nāyanār Narasinga panmar, joined with Karuppakkaṭṭi Nāyaka, and lived in enemity, with our ruler and us

We pardoned their misdeeds, sent a written letter with a seal of authority, promising a surety of safety and removing their fears, invited them to come back

They refused to receive the letter, and became enemies of our ruler and ourselves and joined with the opponents whom we despise

and since these opponents belonged to the side of Prithivi Ganga

We declare that Periuḍaiyān, Arasagal nāyakan, and their younger brother Amaṭṭāḷvan, as *Rājadrohi* and *Nāttudrohin* (traitors of the King and traitors of the country)

and excommunicate them in the company of those deprived of their wives

The sons who are born through the daughters of Prithvi Ganga, married to our rulers, will not be recognised as rulers of this land

Only the other sons are entitled to rule as in days of yore

So long as the hill and earth remains, we and our descendents will not allow this Periuḍaiyān, Arasaganāyan and their brother Amaṭṭāḷvān, to enter this territory. We will not give assylum to these fellows

We will not join those who give assylum to these fellows

Neither we will say that they belong to this country nor will we join those who say that these fellows belong to this country. We will declare as traitors of the crown those who send letters to these fellows, give protection, or speak to the people of their camp, and pierce them like dogs and pigs

We will severe the nose and breasts of the wives of these fellows

We will do the same to the girl who goes to live as concubine with these fellows

We will send out servants and kill the persons who goes our to their side,

All of us including the village of Nandimangalam, give this *Nilaimai Pramāna* as per our surety bond

If we fail to act like this or act contrary to this vow upon Vallavaraiya

He (who acts otherwise) will be considered a co-habiter with his own mother

(If we fail) we may be considered as those who give their own wives to the Paraiahs, who pluck grass to the horses of real traders

If any one acts against this deed, he will receive the same treatment meted out to a goat. cut on a Tuesday, in the temple of Goddess Jayam-konda Nācchiyār

We drafted this *nilaimai pramāna* (the perpetual compact) after cutting a goat in the temple of Jayamkonda Nācchiyār (on Tuesday, equal unto Panchami, 23rd day in the month of Simha) after offering worship

We all the members also got this stone inscription engraved in the temple of Lord of Eḍavanturai

One who acts against this stone inscription, will incur the sin of stabbing a Cow, in between the Ganges and Kumari

As instructed by the members of all the *nāḍus*, I *Nāṭṭāchārya* inscribed this epigraph. This is my signature'

Sthithi patra

This inscription is thus an example of *sthithi patra* of the *dharma sāstras*

A 13th CENTURY SALE DEED ON RIGHTS OF WOMEN

An inscription dated in the third year of the Pallava chieftain Kopperunjinga, found in the Tillai Amman temple, Chidambaram throws valuable light on land sales and the right of inheritance of women in 13th century A.D. It records the sale of a land belonging to a family of seven members to another individual. The deed records the names of sellers the names of the purchasers, the area of land, its boundaries, the price, the process of transactions, the persons who drafted, and the signatories.

It was brahmin family, of Kausika Gotra, residing at Tillai, that sold the land. It consisted of seven members which included the widowed mother, two sons, two daughters-in-law and two grandsons.

Their names are given as

1. Sendan Dattā, the widowed mother.
2. Pancākshara deva.
3. Pillaiyāndi, his wife.
4. Thiruchirrambala muḍaiyān, their son
5. Sendan (Panchākshara's brother)
6. His wife, Thirukkaḷippālai.
7. Their son, Tillai Nāyakan.

Panchākshara deva was the then head of the family and was the eldest son and his name is mentioned first.

They originally belonged Vellarai, probably the village of the same name near Trichy. In mentioning their name, the record, gives the native, place gotra, father's name and the proper name in order. While mentioning the names of three women, the mother and two daughters-in-law, the record gives additonal information. It mentions that the male members stood

as guardians of the women. The eldest son is mentioned as the guardian of his wife. The record specifically mentions that "having so and so as guardian of". Speaking of the mother, the record says, "Sendan Dattā, the wife of Thirucchirrambalamuḍaiyān of Kausika gotra of Vellarai, and the mother of Pancākṣharadeva, (the son of Thirucchirrambalam udaiyān, of Kausika gotra, from Vellarai,) who was her guardian.

> வெள்ளறை கவுசியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பல முடையான் பஞ்சாக்ஷர
> தேவனை முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவன் மாதா
> வெள்ளறை கவுசியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பிராமணி
> சேந்தன் தத்தை

Mentioning his wife the record states "Pillaiyāndi of Thirukkaḷippalai, the wife of this man who is her guardian".

> இவனை முதுகண்ணாக உடைய
> இவன் பிராமணி திருக்கழிப்பாலை
> உடையாள் பிள்ளையாண்டியும்

The record similarly refers to the other daughter-in-law as well. From the above, few points become clear. The gotra name is not mentioned for the women. Since they entered their husbands family, probably they now belonged to their husband's gotra. But the name of the woman's father is mentioned, such as Dattā, the daughter of Sendan. The record then says that,

> "This is a sale deed document given by us to Sivan Thirucchirrambalam uḍaiyān of Kaundinya gotra"

The document calls it in tamil *nila vilai pramāna* i. e. (*Bhūmi vikraya pramāna* in sanskrit). It may be mentioned that these are terms used in *dharma sāstras.*

The next part of the deed says,

'We made a sale to the above person and gave a written receipt on the 26th day of the month *Jaiona* this year and on this day (4th day of the month of Mesha) give this deed.

The land situated within these four boundaries, which includes nattam, tank, excess and shortage, amounts to seven *mā* (of land). We agreed on a sum of 28,000 current coins, as the sale price, and receive the

same in lieu of this seven *mā* of land, which includes fruit bearing trees like coconut, tamarind and others, and tank, inclusive of canal irrigation and lift irrigation and sell all the ownerships and rights as found in the original documents'.

It is interesting to mention that where ever quantity or amount is mentioned in the deed, the same is written both in numerals and letters as *7 mā, seven mā.*

The record uses two legal terms in tamil (a) *virru vilai taravu iṭṭu eḷuti kuḍuttu*, i.e. having sold, gave a written (price) receipt (*b*) *vilai pramāṇat tiṭṭu eḷudi kuḍuttal* i. e. making this a valid written sale document.

From the dates mentioned, it becomes clear that the sale was agreed to and money was obtained for which a written receipt was given. Eight days later, the document was drawn and issued in writting.

The detailed boundaries of the land sold are also recorded in detail. The record then reads,

'We the above mentioned members, have received this 28,000 coins, inclusive of incidental expenses, after showing to the village 'record office, of sales' and sold it to Sivan Thirucchirrambalam Uḍaiyān, to whom we issue this valid sale deed document'.

The record shows that all such secular transactions were done in the village record office for sales and obviously received regularisation with the official stamp.

'This will be the final sale price of this land'.

'இந்நிலத்துக்கு இதுவே விலை ஆவதாகவும்'.

This means a statement was introduced to say that the price mentioned was the finally settled one and no further claim will be entertained later. The deed also states that 'this itself is the final sale receipt for the price. No other document can be produced in this regard." The assertion and repetition of such statements show that the society has gained sufficient experience in sale of lands etc. and considered it essential to include statements of built in safeguards, especially from the view-

point of the buyer. If is further attested by the following statement in the deed.

'We hereby pledge our life as surety to remove any impediment or litigation that arises out of this sale'.

Further the record repeats in clear terms that the sellers agreed to the final price, have received the sale price and have sold the land with all the ownerships and rights as found in the original documents. The record repeats the names of the sellers in detail as mentioned at the beginning.

The last part of the deed is equally interesting. It says that all the seven members of the family were present and ordered the sale to be drafted. There upon the two brothers, and the son of the elder brother, acted as guardians for the rest of them and got the deed drafted. The deed was drafted by Dharmapriya of Puliyūr who was a *karana.*

From the foregoing many points relating to landed property becomes clear.

1. It shows that the widowed mother and all the daughters-in-law had equal right to the family property.
2. It was necessary that all should agree to the disposal of property.
3. The women should be physically present to give their consent.
4. It is in the matter of seeing the deed drafted that the male members of the family acted as guardians.
5. It is seen that the women had equal rights to property but the transactions were made through the male members.
6. It is interesting to note that the son of the second brother is not mentioned during the writing of the document. It is possible that he was a minor.
7. The village *karanattān* drafted this deed and it is seen that it is a detailed and accurate drafting.
8. The rights of women and minor sons were safeguarded while selling family properties.

This also incidentally prove that there were accurate accounts kept in the villages regarding individual land holdings and the rights and previleges attached to them.[1]

It is in this connection that the observations of A. S. Altekar will be read with interest.

"The right of the widow to inherit her husband's property was not recognised by any Jurist down to 300 B.C. In course of time the opinion in favour of the recognition of the widow's right began to grow stronger. This view has been for the first time advocated by Vishnu at about the beginning of the Christian era. He defenitely lays down that the widow shall inherit the whole estate on the failure of sons. About a couple of centuries later Yāgnyavalkya joined in championing the widow's right".[2]

1. S. I. I. Vol. VIII No. 709
2. A writer of the 6th century B.C. observes that is customary to recognise the proprietary rights of women p. 258:

AN ANCIENT DOCUMENT ON TREATY

The ancient seers on *dharma sāstra* mention among other, a document called *sandhipatra* a treaty between two countries. An inscription of 13th century A.D. from Tamilnadu seems to refer to such a *sandhipatra*. The inscription is the *prasasti* (the introductory part of the epigraphs) the exploits of the ruler of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. The prasasti states that Sundara Pandya, burnt down the cities of Tanjore and Urantai (Trichy) and destroyed many places, gopuras, enclosures, forts, dance halls and others and reaching Ayirattali (probably in Palaiyarai the famous place near Kumbakonam) ascended the throne of the Chola in the Coronation hall of the Chola, Later on proceeded further to Chidambaram and worshipped Lord Nataraja. Then he reached Ponnamaravati, near Pudukkottai and was seated in the *manimaṇḍapa*, from where he summoned the Chola. The Chola, who ran for his life leaving away his throne and country beyond the city of Nagari, came to Ponnamaravati at the summon of the Pandya, paid obeisance to him and placing his son at the feet of the Pandya, called him by the name of the victor.

The Pandya comforted the vanquished ruler, asked him to forget the past, gave him back his crown, garland, and palace and gave him a royal deed bearing the seal (with two fish) and conferred back the title Cholapati and returned his capital.

The point of interest here is the issue of a written document, bearing the royal seal giving back the crown. Obviously some form of agreement had been reached between the Pandya and the Chola, and that a written document was issued to the other ruler. This may be considered an agreement deed generally called *sandhipatra* in *dharma sāstras*. That in ancient Tamil country, such agreements between Kings, were committed to writting and that such agreements also bore the royal seal, is noteworthy.

A DEED ON SETTLEMENT OF TERRITORIAL DISPUTE IN PALM LEAF

Among the many palm leaf manuscripts, both literary and others, like grants collected by the Tamil Savant U. V. Swaminatha Iyer are a few records dealing with grant of villages, settlement of disputes etc. The one now under discussion deals with a dispute and its settlement. No note is available as to the source or the place from where this was collected, except a note 'Kongu' written by Sri. Swaminatha Aiyar.

The record is dated 1617 A.D. (Kali era 4718) the astronomical data furnished in the grant are correct and the record may be taken as genuine.

Brief summary of the record

The two territorial divisions, Kangeyam and Pūnturai, in Kongu country, clashed over a boundary dispute in which about forty soldiers lost their lives on the side of Kangeyam, and about sixty on the Pūnturai side. This happened in the reign Muthuvirappa Nayak of Madurai, who was the overlord of this territory. A royal officer came, with the 24 territorial assemblies of the area, and settled the dispute by demarcating the boundaries. Both the parties were made signatories to the document. The present one is the document given by the Pūnturai Nāṭṭār. At the end of the record there is a statement saying that as the original document was in a bad state of preservation, this copy was made. (The present copy is on paper).

Translation

The high sounding pedigrees of the Vijayanagar and Nayak rulers are found at the beginning of the record, the translation of which is not given here. After the titles, it gives the name of Vijayanagar rulers probably in order of succession; the following are the names.

Vakala Bhayankara Raya

Vira Mata Rāyar

Mallikārjuna Rāyar

Virūpāksha Bhūpāla Rāyar

Vallāla Rāyar

Prauḍadeva Rāyar

Venkitapati Rāyar

Krishna Rāyar

Rāmadeva

Chikkarāyar

Jaggarāya

Ishṭa Rangalāyar (probably Immudi Rangarāya).

(The record then gives the names of three Nāyaks)

Visvanātha

Krishnappa

Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaka

He was the regional Administrative Officer (*kārya karthā*) of the Vijayanagar ruler Rangarāya, and who hailed from Kanchi, was administering Madurai Pāndimaṇḍala, Kongumaṇḍala and Vālamaṇḍala, and other regions, consisting of an area of 200 *kādam*. He was administering impartial justice even to the forest regions, and was a lover of literature, music and dance. (The record gives then a few titles to the Nayak, usually found in the records of the period. They are listed below)

Pleasant like the moon

Resplendent like a sun

Knowledgeable like Agastya

Truthful like Hariscandra

Resembling fire in punishment

Dharmarāja in honesty

Bhīma in might

Arjuna in archery
Bhīma in Sword fight
Nakula in the science of horse
Udayana in elephant lore
Indra in pleasure
Nṛṛiti in courage and
Kubera in wealth.

Such an administrator protected the world with sweet words and punished the wrong doer with stern hand; like a mother to a weeping child, afforded comforts to all lives; possessed all the four virtues; fully versed in the Thirukkural enunciated by Thiruvalluvar (*muppāl*, i.e. 'the three chapters; also was used as a name for Thirukkural), removed the sufferings and established pleasant life. When Muttuvirappa of such attributes was ruling so justly, the land:-

There was a boundary dispute between Araccalur in Melkarai Pūnturai nāḍu and Karaiyur, under Radhapuram Sīrmai (the modern Darapuram) of Kongumandalam. Sarkkarai Gaunder pitched his army at Vanjiyangulam. Araccalur pitched its army at Senāpati Pālayam. There were frequent fight between the two. About thirty to forty soldiers died on the side of Sarkkarai Gaunder.

About forty to sixty soldiers died on the side of Sarkkarai Gaunder.
About forty to sixty soldiers died on the side of Pūnturai Nāḍu.
As, clashes were continuing frequently the following people assembled and settled the dispute.

1. the assemblies of 24 nāḍus.
2. Timmappa Mudaliyar, who came as a royal officer to administer Rādhāpuram Sīrmai.
3. Dakshināmūrti Ayyan, the *samprati* of Rādhāpuram
4. Thiruvāli pillai
5. Ellāri Māvuttar, the *talattu Servai*
6. Dalavāy Thirumalai Nāyakā.
7. Sitta Rāvuttar.

8. Nanjayya Nāyakkar.
9. Nainappa Nāyakkar and
10. Vālarasar of Kolumam

This is an agreement deed, given by all the Nāṭṭārs of Pūnturai nāḍu who affixed their signatures, in response to the agreement given by Sarkkarai Gaunder who gave it with his signature.

The details of agreement given by all the assembled parties, after settling the dispute, is in the expired Kali year 4718, equal to the current *Pingala* year, the month of Ādi, date 12th, the bright fortnight, *dasami* (10th day) equal to Tuesday.

Timmappa Mudaliyār and the assemblies of 24 Nāḍus, entered the disputed land. Timmappa Mudaliyār ascending on an elephant and all the assemblies mounting on horses, went round the territory and demarcated the boundary by planting stones.

The following are the details of boundaries:-

The central boundary between Kāngeya Nāḍu and

Araccalur is the well.

To the east of it, is a rock named Sennākkallu.

To the east of it Nallamangāpuram village, lying south of the lake of Valangulam - Kulam

To the north of the lake of Karaiyur forest, Araccalur forest.

To the east of it is the mound Karungal meḍu.

To the east of it tamarind tree called Tāntūkki.

To the east of it lies the rocky boulders from where a person named Karuntevan of Neḍuncāttu, leaped (probably to death).

To the east of it is Kāramadai *Kalladukku* (boulders) lying to the North of Nallakkaṭṭippalaiyam and south of *iḷava nattam.*

We the members of the assembly of Nadus give this agreement to Sarkkarai gaundar, as decided by Timmappa Mudaliyar and the members of the two territorial assembly. We the following members have agreed to the above deed.

a. Alappiccā gaunder of Pūnturai.

b. Mudaliyā gaunder of Vellodu

c. Pirappana gaunder of Nasaiyam

d. Visvanatha Chinnaiya gaunder of Elumāttur

e. Pattali gaunder of Vettuvari

f. Potta gaunder of Araccalur.

g. Tīrtta gaunder of Murungai Perundesa.

h. Sarkkarai gaunder of Anumapalli.

i. Sengoda gaunder of Kingur.

If anyone acts against this agreement, he will pay 1200 pon (gold) to the palace, suffer the consequent punishment, and lose his boundaries.

This is the settlement.

There is nothing against it.

Vow upon the feet of the ruler.

Vow upon the feet of Timmappa Mudaliyār.

Vow upon the feet of the 24 Nāttārs.

We will enjoy the boundaries as enunciated in this agreement without acting against it.

The witnesses to this agreement are.

1. Venāvudaiya Gaunder of Tenkarai Nādu.
2. Vella gaunder, Sirriya gaunder, and Bommaya Nayakka of Talaiya nādu
3. Kalathi gaunder of Vengāla nādu.
4. Tennir Ananta gaunder of Manal nādu.
5. Talaiyanallur Nācchiyappa gaunder of Araiyā nādu.
6. Muttaturāyar of Kontalam
7. Pallavaraya Gaunder, the Kangeya Manrādiyār of Kangaya nādu
8. Vijayamangalam Vadamalai gaunder of Kuruppunādu
9. Chidambara gaunder of Tingalūr
10. Velarasi Avinasi gaunder of Pungulikka nādu

11. Pidarappa gaunder of Peruntolur
12. Udaiya gaunder of Kandiyan Koil
13. Macca gaunder of Arcot
14. Soliyāndā gaunder
15. Leaders of Satyamangalam
16. Rangappa Nayakkar of Talanjavur who was *Sthāndhipati*
17. Ellarimavallar and Dalavay Thirumalai Nayak who were *Talattār*

This may be protected by the Lord of Sennimalai. As this deed was in a bad state of preservation, it was verified and copied by Arasu Pillai, an accountant of Karaiyur *tala*.

This may be protected by Lord. Jayankondīsvarar. The elders may forgive (the mistakes in transcriptions).

Alappiccan Mudali	Pottan
Pirappanan	Tirthan
Chinnaiyan	Sātakanan and Sengodan
Paṭṭali	

(obviously these were the witness or signatories to the copy)

From a study of this record a few facts emerge. When the country passed into the hands of Nayak rulers of Madurai, boundary disputes between adjacent territories seems to have raised their ugly heads, calling for official intervention. These can not be considered as battles, but were more in the nature of skirmishes of nuesense value. There were royal officers stationed at each sīrmai who had the authority to settle boundary disputes and enforce peace in the region. The authority of royal officers seems to have been considerable for there was instantaneous obediance on the part of both the disputing parties on the arrival of the officer. The royal officer is called *Aranmanai manushar* is the palace person. Other dignitaries mentioned are *Talattu Samprati* (senior accountent of the region) *Talattu Sewar* (the revenue officer of the region) and Dalavāy.

The deed does not record the enquiring on earlier documents. It simply mentions the settlement and agreement entered into.

It is interesting to note that the royal officer went on an elephant's back and the others followed him on horses back to determine the boundary. *karini bhramana* is a well known concept in *dharma sāstras*

The record also shows that the chief of Kangeyam was on the one side and the chief of many nāḍus were on the opposing side which indicate that the kangeyam chief was very powerful even in the 17th century. The document carries two groups of signatories; one of signatories to the agreement and the other of witnesses. That the Lord of Sennimalai was held in high esteem is also seen from the record mention has been made earlier, that this was a copy of an original document which was in bad state of preservation. The name of the copyist is also given After stating that it is a copy. The names of a number of persons are mentioned. It is seen that these names are those of who were parties to the settlement. It is possible that the original deed was spoiled within few years of its resistance and during the life time of the same people. It is an example that such civil disputes were committed to writing and the settlement carefully preserved. Another interesting point is the reference to Thirukkural. The ruler Muttu virappa is said to be well versed in the *muppāl* of Thiruvalluvar. The impact of Thirukkural in our document, in 17th century is worthy of note.

This would fall in the catagory of *Sīmā Vivāda* of the *dharma sāstra*. According to *yāgnavalkya*:-

Sīmā vivāde kshetrasya Sāmantās sthavirādayah

Gopāh Sīma Kṛshanā ye Sarve ca Vanagoearāh

Nayeyuhete Sīmānam Sthala angāra tusha drumaih

Setu Valmika Nimnāsthi Chaityaih upalakshitām

The kings, commanders, the elders of the territories, cowherds, the agriculturist, all the hunters and other forest dwellers should jointly demarcate the boundaries with earth, ash, heaps of husks and trees, keeping dams, anthills, mounds, cemetries etc. as land marks.

In the present instance we find the king's commander, the Nattār's of twenty four nadu, the officers of the *sthala* and the disputing parties were present and led by the commander, the boundaries were demarcated.

Among the boundaries mentioned are mounds, trees, wells, rocks boulders etc., all of which conform to the stipulations of the *dharma sāstras.*

While demarcating the boundaries, the commander and others who go round the boundaries should wear red cloth and garlands and carry earth on their head.

Sāmantāh vā samagrāmāh catvāro ashtau dasāpi vā
Rakta srag vasanā sīmām nayeyuh kshitidhārīnah

In the present instance there is no reference to wearing of red cloth, and garlands and carrying earth. It mentions that the commander led the party and others followed him.

The *dharma sāstras* also distinguish four types of boundaries (is the boundaries of a territory, 2) of a village, 3) of a field and 4) of a house site.

Sīmā kshetrādimaryādā sā caturvidhā
Janapada sīmā, grāma sīmā Kshetrasīmā, and *grhasīmā*[1]

The case under study falls within the scope of *Janapada Sīmā Vivāda* the dispute over the boundaries between *nāḍus.* That even in 17th centtury the disputes were settled according to the *Dharmasāstras* is evident from this case.

1. Yagnavalkya—mitakshara p. 103

SCHEDULED CASTES, TRIBES AND SLAVES IN ANCIENT TAMIL LAND - A Study

That all sections of the subjects should be treated as their own children was the ideal of the Pallava rulers

प्रजासु पुत्रप्रवृत्त निरन्तर सौहृद :

The cholas went a step further and set out in clear terms in their prasasti, what they considered their best rule. 'Every one of the subject should feel that he or she had a full independent and happy life, devoid of bickerings or hatreds towards one another'.

'இவன் காக்கும் திருநாட்டின் இயல்பிதுவாம் என நினைந்து எல்லோரும் தனித் தனியே வாழ்ந்தனம் என் மனம் மகிழ்ந்து ஒருவருடன் ஒருவருக்கும், ஒன்றினுடன் ஒன்றுக்கும் வெருவரு பகைமை மனத்தின்றி விழைந்து காதலுடன் சேர'.

says the prasasti of Rājarāja II.

That this concept was not an idealist boast but the Chola rule attempted to translate it into a reality is reflected in inscriptions.

An interesting reference, dated, 1258 A.D. (Saka-1180) shows that the Tribal people and others whom we now designate as schedule caste, had equal rights with members of other castes in matters of political decisions. The record relates to a few persons who joined the enemies of their country. All the people of the territory assembled and took two important decisions. 1) They excommunicated the defectors and 2) They agreed not to give shelter to the relatives or servants of the defectors and to punish the wrong doers. According to the inscription, the persons who assembled to take this political decision, included all members of the territory from, Brahmins to the Arippāns,

" அடிவாரத்து மலையாளரும், முதலிகளும் பெரும் பன்னாட்டவரும் ஆண்டார்களும் சிவப்பிராமணரும், மன்றாடிகளும், உவச்சரும், புலவரும், பண்ணுவாரும் நியாயத்

தாரும், பன்னிரண்டு பணிமக்களும், உள்ளிட்ட பெரும் வேடரும். பறையரும், பறை முதலிகளும், செக்கிலியரும், இருளரும் உள்ளிட்ட அனைத்துச் சாதிகளும்"

This included the hill tribes at the foot of the hills, their leaders, another hill tribes called *Mudunīr Malaiyālar, Pannādis, hunters, Pulavars, Paraiahs, Pāṇars, Sakkilis, Irulars* besides the Sivabrahmanas, businessmen, commanders, soldiers and others. It is a clear instance, of the ancient people attaching due importance to the collective expression of the people in the matter of important political decision. It is also of interest to note that such important decisions were not left to be taken by the leaders alone, but the entire people assembled and took the decision.

Two religious leaders of outstanding eminence, have spelt out their attitude to the scheduled castes. One is the Saivaite saint Appar, who lived in the 7th century A.D. For him even the outcaste *Pulaiya,* eating beaf and afflicted with incurable leper, is a God, if only he is a devotee of Siva. The second saint, is Adi Sankara, who was ready to accept any as of Lord his guru, be he a *dvija* or a *caṇḍāla*, if only he was a realised soul. Not that, that the society had no distinction of higher and lower caste. It was very much there. But the point to remember is that the society was ready to bow down to any human being irrespective of caste distinction under certain conditions.

The four fold division–an aryan classification was well known in the Sangam age of the Tamil country. But there were also many sub castes, which was an extension of the tribal grouping than the creation of the Aryan civilisation. The leather stichers were considered low by birth.[1] Puram 170 also refers to drummers who were considered low by birth. "*இழிபிறப்பாளன் கருங்கை சிவப்ப வலி துரந்து சிலைக்கும் வன்கட்கடுந்துடி*" It is clear that the same puram poems, extol the greatness of *Tudiyan, Pānan, Paraiyan* and *Kaḍamban* as the only *kudis*, worthy of mention.[2]

துடியன், பாணன், பறையன், கடம்பன் என்றிந் நான்கல்லது குடியுமில்லையே.

1. *இழிசினன்-புறம்-83.*
2. Puram 335.

The great Bhakti movement spearheaded by the Saivite saints and Vaishnavite Alwars, did yeomen service to the uplift of their unfortunate brothern. The role played by the temple movement can not also be minimised.

Many of the saints of Saivite and Vaishnavite faith belonged to the Scheduled caste and tribes. Nandan, Thirunīlakanṭa Yāzhpānar and Kannappan belong to this noble line of saints. They have been held in such esteem by the society, that they are found represented in sculptures and bronzes so frequently. The Vaishnavite saint Thiruppān Ālvār, a person said to be of low birth, was carried by the sage Lokasārangamuni on his shoulder.

According to Periyapurānam the Paraiahs were agricultural labourers who also used to trade in leather. They were considered outcastes and not allowed to enter temple premises. But from inscriptions we learn that some members of their community held respectable posts and have even made gifts to temples. In an inscription from Thirumuruganpūndi in Coimbatore district, a Vellala is called *paraiah.* He was called paraiah Danapāla of the Māppuḷḷi sub-caste, among the Vellālas.

According to Rājarāja's inscription, each caste lived in seperate colonies as in *Kammānceri, Paraicceri,* etc. They also had separate cremation grounds mentioned in inscription as *Paraisuḍukāḍu, Vellān Suḍukāḍu* etc. The Tanjore inscriptions refer to a number of villages where *Paraicceri, Tīndācceri* are located. In all these instances we find, these colonies exempted from paying land tax.

Reservation of certain works for certain castes was the dictum of the *dharma sāstras.* Apart from the four fold *varna* system, there were people of the mixed castes. This division also had two distinctions as the *anulōmajas* and *pratitōmajas*; the *anulōmajas* being considered superior to the *pratilōmajas.* The Tamil inscriptions refer to this division and also the works allocated to each group. There was another distinction in Tamil country, similar to the *anuloma* and *pratiloma,* known as *Valangai* and *Idangai jāti.* This groupings though had its own mythological origin,

1. 253/S.I.I. IV.

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seems to have been organised by the crown and reservation of jobs was practised among this groups as well.

Payments were made daily, annually or according to contract. Besides, the workers were entitled to free medical facilities, annual free medical facilities, annual free supply of cloths, travel and daily allowances accommodation and annual bonus on festive occasions.

This brings us to another important point namely bonded labour. The dharma sāstras recognize five catagories of servants as 1) *Sishyas* (students) 2) *Antevāsis* (learns silpa etc.) 3) *Britakas* (wage earners) 4) *Adhikaramakrit* (Supervisory officers) and 5) *Dāsa* (slaves).

The first four are called *Karmakāras* and do service of clean nature. *Dāsas* are those who do unclean works like scavenging etc. Among the wage earners, three classes are recognised. The soldiers carrying weapons are superior class, the farmers the middle class and load bearers and the like are the lowest of *Bhrtaka* class.

Fifteen classes of slaves are distinguished. They are like slaves bought for money, obtained as gift, bequeathed by parents, captured in war, won in gambling, enslaved by pledging, enslaved to pay off loans etc.

It would be more appropriate to call all these classes, except one as bonded labour, than slaves; for all of them have a right to be set free by the payment of money due to the masters. Only a person who embraces *sanyāsa*, and abandons the path, has no right to freedom. He becomes a slave of the crown through out his life. All others have a right to free citizenship of their will by paying compensation. Those who are enslaved by force or sold by thieves are not considered slaves. The owners should set them free or else the crown will release them. So also a slave, who saves the master from death from wild animals or robbers etc., becames not only a free man but also is entitled to his master's property.

बलात् दासीकृत : चोरै: विक्रीत : चापि मुच्यते

Regarding payment of wages, the dharma sāstras lay emphasis on payment of wages proportionate to the outturn. A minimum outturn of work should be agreed to between the proprietor and worker. If the labourer produces less, he should be payed proportionately less, but for more work than the minimum the worker is entitled for more wages.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE PUDUKKOTTAI DISTRICT

UPTO THE END OF CHOLA PERIOD

An analysis of the Pudukkottai inscriptions sheds interesting light on the political geography of the region. The inscriptions upto the end of the chola period alone are analysed in this article. The study reveals that in the pallava period important monuments are found in a small region where agricultural activity is noticed. With the advent of the cholas, greater attention is paid to irrigation and agriculture which is reflected in monuments and inscriptions. This great leap forword is noticed especially in the time of Rājarāja I (985-1014) and then on the progress somewhat slows down. The study is based on texts of inscriptions published as Pudukkottai inscriptions.

The inscriptions assignable till the end of the chola period, so far brought to light, shows that as many as 55 are found in Kulattur taluk with Thirumeyyam coming next with 15 epigraphs and Alangudi recording 13 epigraphs. This would indicate that Kulattur taluk was a fertile area, claiming power and population till the 13th century A.D. It is of interest to mention that the following famous settlements Kudimiyamalai, Sittannavasal, Kunnandar koil, Narttamalai, Kodumbalur and Malayadippatti, with historic early cave temples are located in Kulattur taluk.

The main territorial division was called *Nāḍu*, while some divisions went by the name *Kūrram*. Some of the divisions were also referred to by their subdivisions as east, west, south and north.

In the time of the Pallavas, Kilsengili Nāḍu and Annavāyil kūrrams are referred to. While the former is referred to in an inscription of Dantivarman [1] the later occurs in the inscription of Nrpatunga.[2]

1. Pudukkottai inscriptions, 18.
2. Pudukkottai inscriptions 19.

Under the Cholas a great number of Nāḍu are found recorded in inscriptions which suggests great agricultural activity. The great number of Nāḍus are again concentrated in Kulattur taluk.

The following were the Nāḍus located in Kulattur taluk.

Konāḍu	Vaḍakōnāḍu
Peruvayilnāḍu	Mangalanāḍu
Uratturkūrram	Mesengilināḍu
Annavāyilkūrram	Kilsengilināḍu
Tensiruvayilnāḍu	Vayalaganāḍu
Kunniyūrnāḍu	Vaḍapanangāḍunāḍu.
Kunrusūḷnāḍu	

The following Nāḍus were included in Thirumeyyam taluk.

Ollayūrkūrram	Kānanāḍu
Kūḍalūrnāḍu	Koṇnāḍu and Puramalaināḍu

Alungudi taluk consisted of

Vallanāḍu	Kallappilanāḍu
Kaviranāḍu	Kilsurināḍu and
Tenkaviranāḍu	Punrikūrram

With the advent of Rājarāja I we enter into the greatest era of not only conquest and cultural activity but also administrative supremacy. Rājarāja introduced throughout his country the territorial division called valanāḍu and each valanāḍu bore one of his titles. valanāḍu was a greater territorial division than the Nāḍus. Keralantaka valanāḍu, Pāndikulāsani valanāḍu, and Rājarāja valanāḍu are the divisions found in Pudukkottai district. Keralāntaka and Pāndyakulāsani were the titles assumed by Rājarāja. Tanjore was situated in Pandya Kulāsanivala-nāḍu. In Pudukkottai district, this division extended upto Thiruvengavasal, which is said to be in Pāndikulāsanivalanāḍu.[1] The process of constituting new Valanāḍus and renaming old Valanāḍus continued by the successors of Rājarāja I. Such Valanāḍu were invari-

1. Pudukkottai inscription, No. 88.

ably named after names of the monarch, following the example of Rājarāja.

In the reign of Rājendra I one more Valanāḍu's Jayasingakulakāla-valanāḍu was added. Rājendra defeated the Chalukya ruler Jayasimha at Musangi and assumed the title Jayasingakulakāla. This valanāḍu occurs for the first time in an inscription of Rājendra I himself, at Thiruvengaivasal.[1] A part of Kulattur taluk received this name Jayasinga-kulakālavalanāḍu, which included such villages like Thiruvengaivasal, Tennangudi[2] Malaiyadipatti[3] Kiranur, and Tenmavur. We have seen that Kulattur taluk was Keralānatakavalanāḍu in the reign of Rājarāja I. In all probability this division was renamed Jayasingakulakālavalanāḍu by Rājendra for the name Keralāntakavalanāḍu ceases to occur from the reign of Rājendra I.

Another part of Kulatur taluk was renamed Irattappāḍikonḍa Chola valanāḍu. This division was also formerly called Keralāntakavalanāḍu. Irattappāḍi-Konḍacholavalanāḍu occurs in the 13th year Rājādhirāja I. Rājendra was still the effective ruler. In all probability this renaming was after one of the signal victories of Rājendra I. Rājarāja and Rājendra captured Rattappāḍi. In the reign of Rājarāja it is said to be in Keralāntaka valanāḍu but in the inscription of Rājadhirāja it is said to be in Irattappāḍikonḍavalanāḍu Obviously the renaming is in the reign of Rājendra I, after his Rattappāḍi conquest. An inscription[4] suggests Konāḍu was renamed Irrattappāḍikonḍavalanāḍu. Probably the territorial division Rājendracholavalanāḍu occuring for a part of Thirumeyyam, was also named after Rājendra I, for it occurs in the inscription of Rājarāja II.[5] Ponnamaravati and Peruntурai were the villages included in this divison.

A new division is found in the reign of Kulottunga I. A part of Thirumeyyam taluk was renamed Viruddharāja bhayankara Valanāḍu.

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1. Pudukkottai inscription No. 100.
2. " 107.
3. " 116.
4. " 182.
5. " 131.

Konāḍu which was in the Rājendrachola valanāḍu is said to be in Viruddharāja Bayankara valanāḍu. Obviously Rājendrachola valanāḍu was renamed Viruddharāja Bayankara valanāḍu. Viruddharājabhayankara was a title of Kulottunga I.

One more territorial division was introduced in the reign of Kulottunga III, who conquered Ceylon. In order to celebrate this victory Kulottunga assumed the title Kadaladaiyadu Ilangaikonda Chola. An inscription of Kulottunga III, from Idaiyam in Thirumeyyam taluk, seems to suggest that Konāḍu was renamed as Kadaladaiyadu Ilangaikonda Valanāḍu. We have seen earlier Konāḍu was named Irattappāḍikonḍa Chola valanāḍu. The same is now called Konāḍu alias Kaḍalaḍaiyadilangai Konḍa Chola valanāḍu. Both names Irattappāḍikonḍa Cholavalanāḍu and Kaḍalaḍaiyadilangaikonḍa Chola valanāḍu occur in epigraphs of later Pandyas. Obviously Konāḍu was reconstituted into two units in the reign of Kulottunga III one retaining the old name and the new receiving the name Kaḍalaḍaiyadilangaikonḍa Cholavalanāḍu.

By the end of the Chola rule the following divisions are recorded *Valanāḍus*

Keralāntaka valanāḍu.
Pāndikulāsani valanāḍu
Rājarāja valanāḍu.
Rājasingakulakāla valanāḍu.
Irattappāḍikonda Chola valanāḍu.
Rājēndra Chola valanāḍu.
Viruddharāja Bhayankara valanāḍu.
Kaḍalaḍaiyadilangaikonḍa Chola valanāḍu.

A LAND GIFT RECORDED IN PALM LEAF

Introduction

While most of the royal grants and records dealing with the temples were written on imperishable materials like stone and copper plates, most of the private transactions were written on palm-leaves which are lost for ever. There are innumerable inscriptions refering to accounts and registers maintained in Palm-leaves. There is an interesting inscription which refers to the destruction of palm-leaf records which were eaten away by white ants and the action taken by the authorities for reconstructing the record with the available materials.

It is, therefore, interesting to find a 17th century palm-leaf grant. The record was collected by that indefatigable Tamil Savant Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer and is now preserved in the U. V. Swaminatha Iyer Library. At the end of the grant, it is written that it is a copy of "a grant of Mallaiyur Chirrambala Pandāram".

Translation

Sivamayam

This Dhānasādhana (grant) is gifted to Chirrambala Panḍāram, son of Tillaināyaka Panḍāram of Mallaiyūr, by Virapūccayya Nāyakkar, son of Thirumalai Pūccayya Nāyakkar who has the following epithets:-

Cinnai Vāra Kulavaran
Antampirakanḍan
Immadi Nārāyanan
Urikol Sultanan
One entitled for five coloured cloth
Rāhutta minḍam
Rājādhirājan
Rājagambīran

Rāja mārtāndan
Rāja Sironmani
The Lord of Marungai
Maruvalar Kesari
Rājavesya Buyangan
Lord of river Pālāru
Lord of mighty elephants
One of honest word.

The gift was made in the Salivahana era, 1566, equal to the year sarvajit, month Vaikasi, 7th day, in the auspices day, auspices star, auspices yoga etc.

The gift was made as a Sarvamānya when Chirrambala Pandāram sang the literary composition *Pillai Prabhandam.*

The Alagiyanallur village in our region, (thus gifted) has the following boundaries.

a. To the west of this village is Alagiyanallur field.
b. To the north lay the southern sluice of Kavirāyan lake.
c. To the east lay Kuttivilamedu sluice of Kottargudi.
d. To the south lay, the water way receiving water from Alangara puram sluice and the northern sluice of Chokkanātha lake and Kurangupattadai.

the village situated within these four boundaries is Kannamangalapatti, which belong to Alagiyanavalur.

To the east of this village lay Kāraichūrampatti, the second village gifted; the boundaries are:-

a. To the west was the sulastone of Ūruni (drinking water tank) of Perumakki.
b. To the north lay Kottagudi filed the sulastone Sattinathan Pallam Sveta river.
c. To the east lay Kovilan field the Sula stone of the pathway Peruvarappu, the sula stone of Mullippallam and Punjai ellai pallam.

d. To the south lay Sutrampatti Punjai, the waterway Kappukkudi sluice.

The wet lands, dry lands, *maravadai*, low lands, bushes, high mounds, trees, wells, waterways, rocky areas, hidden treasures etc. are all ordered to be gifted as all exempted *Sarvamānya* lands. This gift is to be held as heriditary right till the sun and moon lasts.

Those who protect this dharma will receive the merit of performing *Asvamedha yāga*.

Those who do wrong to this gift will incur the sin of killing a cow on the sacred banks of the Ganges.

This is signed by Sivanta pādam Pillai, who was *Vāsal aṭṭavanai*. (There is a verse at the end of the grant).

Hail Lord Vīrapūccayya, the very Indra, who gifted Kannamangalapatti and Karichūranpatti, to Chirrambala Vāna, for composing the *Pillai Tamil* poem.

Below this there is a note that this is a grant of Chirrambala panḍāram, of Mallaiyur and 258 years old.

Historical Analysis : —

The grant was made in the year 1647 A. D., that is the period when Thirumalai Nāyak was ruling the Madurai country. Chirrambalakkavi was a great poet of the 17th Century, having a considerable number of poems to his credit. He has composed literary works on many historical personages like:—

1. Vīra pūccayya Nāyak of Marungapuri.
2. Āndavarāya Vanangāmudi Pandāram of Palaivanam.
3. Raghunātha Sethupati of Tevai,
4. Sivanteḷunta Pallavarāyan.
5. Mūvaraiyan and others.

He was a contemporary of great personalities like Thirumalai Nāyak of Madurai, Raghunātha Sethupati of Ramnad, and Gettimudali of Salem.

A careful analysis of his work shows that he was very active in Pudukkottai and Ramnad area, and have sung the patrons, of this region. He has chosen to write on mostly living persons, with an unusual sense of history, which enables us to reconstruct the history of the period particularly of that region. His poems are of high quality and show extensive study by the author. He quotes many known and unknown works. It is also seen that there was a vigourous school of study of Tamil literature particularly in the 17th century. Many of the valuable palm-leaf manuscripts, collected by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer belongs to his family.

About the life of this eminent poet U. V. Swaminatha Iyer has left the following note at the end.

"Salivahana Saka 1570.

Mithilaippaṭṭi Chirrambala Kavirāyar.

His father's name is Tillaiyāḍiya Pillai.

His native village is Mallai in Tondaināḍu".

The above Tillaiyādiya Pillai came to that village (Mithilaippatti) with one Vanangāmuḍi Panḍāram a *Jamindār* of Palaivanam and served as the manager (*Jamin Sthānādhipati*) of that estate. Since he was greatly devoted to Natarāja of Chidambaram he was so named (Chirrambalakkavi) by Tillaiāḍiya Pillai. His teacher was one Sadāsiva. Sadāsivadesika was the son of Vaidyanātha Desika as seen from a verse in the grammatical work *Ilakkanavilakkam.* His date is Salivahana Saka --- as seen from a palm-leaf given by one Venkaṭanāyakar. It is not known whether the present grant was also one among them. Sadāsiva Sadguru is evidently the son of Vaidyanātha Desika, the author of '*Ilakkana Vilakkam*'.

Chirrambalakkavi composed some long short verses on Āṇḍavarāya Vanangāmuḍi Panḍāram, the son of Arunāchala Vanangāmuḍi the Jamindār of Palaivanam. He gave the poet elephants and other gifts. The stone used to tie the elephants is still seen near his house. He wasalso confered the previlage of a palanquin and a ceremonial staff. He went to Sethusamasthāna (of Ramnad) from there and composed a poem on Sethupathi and received from him the village Rājasingamangalam. There are altogether 8 sluices to the tank at that village. All the lands

irrigated by one sluice were gifted to Ramanathaswami (of Kamesvara) and lands irrigated by another sluice to Brahmins. He inscribed his name in that sluice.

Raghunātha Sethupati requested Chirrambala Kavirāyar to give the village Rājasingamangalam to him. The Poet readily gave it and in turn got the villages:

1. Nāgaratnam Pallam
2. Nāratham Pallam
3. Korramangalam
4. Pillaiyārpaṭṭi
5. Sekanārpaṭṭu and
6. Maravanental

He gifted the village Maravanendal to Naṭarāja of Chidambaram and inscribed the fact in poetry on a stone there.

Then he went to Marungāpuri, planted a torana, stayed there and taught Tamil to all people. The Jamindar saw that even the cowherds of the village were well versed in Tamil literature and being a great Saivite, admired the services of Chirrambala Kavi and gifted him several villages like Pulavanākkuḍi. Then the poet consecrated Subrahmanya on the Teni hill and gifted a village. Then the poet went to Pirānmalai and composed some poems like the *Sthalapurana* of Pirānmalai.

He went to Thirunelveli and sang, *Vannam, Virali viḍu dūtu, Kovai* and other poems on Mūvaraiyan a chieftain who gifted him a number of villages which the poet gave away to the Siva temple of Tirunelveli.

The poet went to the Court of Kaṭṭiyappa Mudali of Salem and taught Tamil to his daughter.

He composed other poems, like *Varga Kovai* on the Jamindar of Nattam, 15 miles to the west of Pirānmalai and received two *endal* of lands in Pusarippatti. In that village he dug a tank for drinking water and installed an image of Ganesa on its bank and gifted one *endal* for worship. The following are his Poetic works

1. Āṇḍavarāyan Kovai
2. Perunturai Ānmanāthar Yamaka Antādi
3. Āṇḍavarāyan kaṭṭalai kalippā

4. Vrtta.
5. Kaṭṭalai kalitturai.
6. Koccaha.
7. Mahānavami Vrttas.
8. Venpās.
9. Bālakavi on Kulandaiturai, son of Āṇḍavarāya.
10. Āndavarāyan Vaṇṇam.
11. Āndavarāyan gamakavrtta.
12. Pirānmalai Purānam.
13. Pirānmalai mangai bāga Kadavul vrtta.
14. Mūvaraiya vrttam.
15. Sivandeḷunta Pallavarāyan Ulā.
16. Sivandeḷunta Pallavarāyan Pillaittamil.
17. Mūvaraiyan Viralividu tūdu.
18. Marungāpuri Vīra Pūccaya Nāyakar kōvai.
19. Marungāpuri Vīra Pūccaya Nāyakar Pillaittamil.

This poet was not only a great donor but also received the praise of many. He died at Piranmalai."

It is interesting to note that this land gift was made for composing a literary poem *pillaittamil* on the patron. The works of this great poet of 17th century have not yet been critically studied.

His work on 'Sivandeḷunda Pallavarāyan' was published in a serial, in '*Kalveṭṭu*', the quarterly journal of Tamilnadu State Archaeological Department by me with the kind permission of the authorities of the U. V. Swaminatha Iyer Library.

THIRUPPANIMALAI

There is a group of literature in Tamil, called *Thiruppaṇimālai* relating to some of the important temples. These consist of many verses, mainly dealing with additions, alterations, and new constructions in the temples and the verses do give the names of the donors. Such works, which can be translated as 'the garland of sacred renovations' exist for the great temples like Madurai, the Thiruvanaikka temple and others. While here and there we do get mythical origin for some structures, mentioned in these works, by and large they do give historical accounts and have a claim to be included as historical literature. They have not received due attention in the hands of historians or other scholars. Here we cite an interesting example.

There is a *Thiruppaṇimālai* on the Mīnākshi temple of Madurai. There are four verses in the work refering to one Krishnavirappa. The four verses are given below.

விதிக்கு முகுந்தற்கு மெட்டாத சொக்கர்க்கு மேதினியோர்
துதிக்குங் கொடிக்கம்ப மண்டப மொன்று துலங்கச் செய்தான்
கதிக்கும் பரமன்னர் பொன்ஞர் முடிகளைக் காலிலேற்றி
மிதிக்குங் கடாசலத் தான்கச்சி வாழ்க்ருஷ்ண வீரப்பனே — 52

ஐயர்சிங் காரச் செழுநீர்ப் புனல்வெள்ளி யம்பலமுஞ்
செய்ய வடக்குத் திருக்கோ புரமுஞ் செவ் வீச்சுரமுந்
துய்ய திருமடைப் பள்ளியு மன்புடன் தோன்றச் செய்தான்
தையர் மோகன வேள்கிருஷ்ண வீர சயதுங்கனே — 53

வாரிப் புவிபுக ழாயிரக் கான்மணி மண்டபமு
மேருற்ற மூர்த்தியம் மன்மண்டபமு மிரண்டாம்பிரா
காரத் திருச்சுற்று மண்டப முங்கொடிக் கம்பத்துமுன்
வீரப்ப மண்டப முஞ்செய் தனன்கிருஷ்ண வீரப்பனே — 54

அல்லொத்த பூங்குழ லங்கையற் கண்ணம்மை யாலயத்துண்
மல்லப்ப ஞட்டு பொற் கம்பம் பழகிய வாறுகண்டே
நல்லிட்ட மாகப்பொன் பூசுவித் தானண்ண லாருக்கொரு
வில்லிட்டுப் போரை விலக்கிட்டருள் கிருஷ்ண வீரப்பனே —55

The first records, that a flag staff was erected to Lord Chokkanātha by Krishnavirappa of Kanchi. The second one states that the same person erected *Velliambala* (that is the Silver hall of Sundaresvara), the northern tower and Servirsvara and the kitchen. The third one refers to the construction of the thousand pillared Mandapa, Mūrtiamman mandapa, the mandapa of the second enclosure and Vīrappa mandapa in front of the flag staff pavilion. The name of the builder is given as Krishna-vīrappa or Krishna Vīrajayatunga.

An inscription preserved in a pillar of the mandapa in front of Sundaresvara temple (now called *kodikkampa mandapa*) throws valuable light. The inscriptions is both in Tamil and Telugu and the contents are the same in both. It records that the *mandapa* was erected by Vīrappa Nāyaka, the son of Krishnappa Nāyaka, who was in turn the son of Visvanātha Nāyaka. The construction was made on the Ist day of the month of *'tai'* in the year *subhānu*, equal to the expired Saka year 1505. (1583 A.D.) Vīrappa Nāyaka was the grandson of Visva-nātha Nāyak, the establisher of Madurai Nāyak dynasty. Here is an example of literary tradition confirmed by inscription. Visitors to Madurai temple will not fail to see four striking sculptures, two represen-ting Vīrabhadras, the other of Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava Siva and the fourth of Kāli, in the *kampattaḍi mandapa.* These are not only huge sculptures in Madurai temple but also imposing by their power of expression. These sculptures formed part of the Virappa mandapa mentioned above.

The thousand pillared hall of Madurai temple was popularly believed to have been built by Ariyanātha Mudaliyar, the Dalavāy under Viswa-natha, Krishnappa and Virappa Nāyaks. One of the sculptures showing a person on a horse at the entrance to the thousand pillared hall, was identified with Ariyanātha Mudaliyar. This sculpture has nothing to do with Ariyanātha, but is Lord Sundaresvara, who came as a horse trader, converting jackals into horses to save his devotee Mānikkavācaka. The jackal is figured below the horse which may be seen.

The verses under discussion, say clearly that the thousand pillared hall was in fact built by Virappa. It is not known when this *Thiruppani-mālai* was composed. It carries full historical data that it deserves a more careful study. Some important contributions mentioned in Madurai *Thiruppaṇimālai* are as follows :

1. The main vimāna of Lord Sundaresvara, called Indravimāna, rebuilt and covered with gold by Visvanātha Nāyak, the founder of the Nāyak dynasty.

2. The brick structure over the Chitragopura of Lord Chokkanatha, constructed by Krishnappa, son of Visvanātha Nāyak.

3. (a) Koḍikkampa mandapa.
   (b) Veḷḷiambalam (Silver hall)
   (c) Northern gopura.
   (d) Servisvara.
   (e) Kitchen.
   (f) Thousand pillared hall.
   (g) Mūrtiamman mandapa.
   (h) The mandapa running along the second enclosure.
   (i) Virappa mandapa before Kodikkampa.
   (j) As the golden flag staff planted by Mallappa in front of the goddess Minakshi's shrine, became old he got it renewed with gold.

   All the above works were done by Virappa Nāyak the son of Krishnappa. There has been a great building activity in Madurai temple during the reign of Virappa Nāyak.

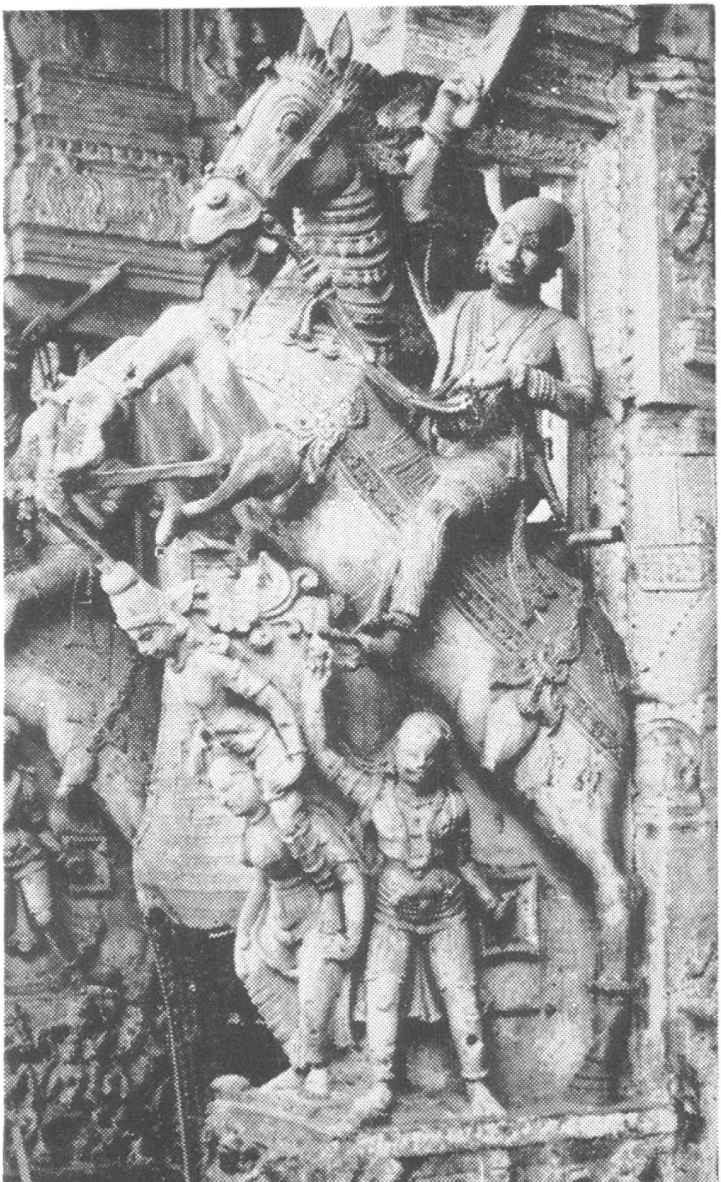
The other great benefactor of the temple is Thirumalai Nāyak, whose services to the temple are recounted in the *Thiruppaṇimālai.*

1. Pudu mandapa built with 120 pillars and painted.

2. Two mandapas one or either side of this mandapa. These were indended for Vasanta festivals.

3. The Teppakkula (now called Vandiyūr Teppakkulam) called Thirumalai Nāyakar Samudra. It consisted of a mandapa in the centre resembling the Golden Meru mountain, the nine Bhuvana kandas, and the Sapta Sāgaras. (seven ocean)

4. The temple of goddess Mīnakshi renovated-old and broken stone lintels, pillars etc. were removed and replaced.



Portrait of Thirumalai Nāyak on horse back
Pudumandapam-Madurai. see page 114

5. The front mandapa of goddess Mīnākshi.

6. The flag staff and *balipitha* in front of Lord Sundaresvara covered again with gold.

7. The flag staff and the *balipitha* of goddess Mīnākshi also renewed with gold.

8. Dvarapālas made of copper consecrated at the *ārukāl mandapa* in front of the shrine of Lord Sundaresvara and goddess Mīnākshi.

The above contributions of Thirumalai Nāyak are still there. In the Pudumandapa traces of painting are still preserved. A fine portrait of Thirumalai Nāyak on horse back adorns the entrance of the Pudumandapa. This is one of the finest portrait sculptures of a Hindu ruler shown on horse, preserved so far. This portrait an illustration of which is also reproduced has been identified by the present writer.

The Madurai *Thiruppanimālai* is an excellent historical work. But unfortunately neither the date of the composition nor the name of the author is known. It might belong to late 18th century.

A COPPER PLATE OF RAGHUNATHA NAYAK

An interesting copper plate grant is now preserved in the Vishnu temple of Thirukkannamangai, in Tanjore District. The grant is engraved on both the sides of a single copper sheet, 34.5 c.m. in length and 25.5 c.m. breadth. The plate records the gift of certain lands to the temple of Vishnu at Thirukkannamangai, by the Tanjore Nāyak ruler Vijaya Raghunātha Nāyak. It is published here on account of some interesting features.

The content of the plate may be divided into four parts-the first part carrys some figure drawings; the second part gives the high sounding pedigrees of the Nāyak rulers, the third part the *sthalamāhātmya* and the fourth part the grant proper.

Unlike the usual charters, the present charter begins with three panels of figures incised. The first panel carries a standing Vishnu image flanked by Sridevi and Bhudevi. To the extreme right is shown Lakshmi as Tāyār seated with four arms. To the left is Āndạl standing. Obviously this is the presiding deity of the Thirukkannamangai temple, Abhisheka-valli Tāyār and Āndạl.

In the centre of the second panel is Krishna dancing on the snake Kāliya. To his left is a seated person probably Nammāḷvār. Flanking them are shown Siva and Brahma, shown adoring the central image. Further away are shown seated and standing sages and devotees. To the extreme right is Sūrya standing.

The third panel is more interesting. In the centre is shown *garuda dhvaja*, with garuda shown at the top. To the left of the pillar is shown a royal figure standing in *anjali* pose. A sword is shown on his waist. He has no crown but wears his hair in *dammilla* fashion usually found in Nāyak sculptures. The figure is obviously the portrait of the donor king Vijaya Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore.

To the right of garuda pillar is a temple priest welcoming the ruler to the temple with *pūrna kalasa.* Another priest standing behind him carries a bell. Behind the ruler is also a priest. At the extreme end are shown two soldiers, one on either side, carrying long swords, tucked in their armpits. Such sword bearing body guards may be seem even today accompanying the ruler to the temple, in Ananta Padmanābhaswami temple, at Tiruvandrum.

The Lord Vishnu and his consorts shown in the first panel, are obviously the presiding deities of Thirukkannamangai temple. The three panels show the visit of the Tanjore Nāyak to the temple of Thirukkannamangai. From the inscription contained in the grant, it is seen, that the ruler made gift, when he visited the temple and worshipped the Lord on the *Rāmanavami* day in the year 1609 A.D. The artist of this drawing, (whose name is incidentally preserved for us in the plate) has captured this visit and portrayed it almost as a photographic illustration. It is a rare instance where the portrait of a donor is drawn in the plate itself.

The astronomical calculations given in the grant are correct. It also shows that the Nāyak ruler having performed worship on a Rāmanavami day, made the gift. That he was a great devotee of Sri Rama is known from the erection of the Ramaswamy temple at Kumbakonam. His title *Anavarata Rāmakathāmirtha sēvaka,* shows his intense love for the story of Rama. That he also assumed the title Kodandarāma is also known from this grant. Raghunātha Nāyak invaded Sri Lanka and won a decisive victory over the Portughese is well known. The conquest of Jaffna by Raghunātha Nāyak is ascribed to 1616 A.D.[1] The Jaffna ruler who is said to have received the help of Raghunātha is said to be one Sankilkumāra who ascended the throne towards the end of 1615. But from this grant dated 1609, we find Raghunātha claiming a victory over Īlamturai even earlier. This calls for a re-evaluation of the Jaffna expedition of Raghunātha Nāyak.

Another point of interest is the Telugu writing at the beginning of the charter which reads:-

Sri Rāma Nīve gati and Srī Rāmajayam

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1. Vriddhagirisan, The Nayaks of Tanjore, page 339.

A portrait painting of the sethupati rulers of Ramnad, Vijaya Raghunātha sethupati, now found in the Ramnad palace shows the sethupati listening to the exposition of Ramayana by a teacher. The manuscript shown in the hands of his teacher has telugu letters reading *Rāma-Nīve gati-Srī Rāmajayam.* The impact of Vijayaraghunātha Nāyak's personality on the Sethupati rulers of Ramnad is unparallelled. Ever-since his time the name Vijaya Raghunātha almost became the family name of the Sethupati for we find many of them bearing the name Vijaya Raghunātha Sethupati. There is just a gap of only one hundred years between this copper plate grant and the Ramnad painting.

Most of the copper plate charters and inscriptions of the Vijayanagar dynasty, begin with the word *Subhamastu.* In some cases, when it relates to a Vaishnava shrine, the records do begin with the word *Srīmate Rāmānujāya namah.* But in this charter, Raghunātha gives a new orientation by invoking Sri Rama and saying, He Rama You are the solace and Sri Rāmajayam. The devotion with which Raghunatha initiated this tradition of writing *Sri Rāma Nīve gati* and *Sri Rāmajayam* at the beginning, has left a lasting impression on the mind of the Tamil people.

Another point of interest is that the present temple structure of Thirukkannamangai seems to have been rebuilt in the reign of Sri Raghunātha Nāyak. The inscription of Raghunātha, the earliest inscription to be noticed on the structure, is incidentally found just below the image of Sri Rāma. The inclusion of *Sthalamāhātmya*-relating to the greatness of the sacred *sthala* of Thirukkannamangai, and many gods and sages doing penance to attain salvation is a point of interest worthy of note in a copper plate charter. It mentions one important person who attained salvation in each *yuga*, in addition to Rudra and Brahma, an example of infusing sanctity.

Another point of interest is that we know the name of an artist who drew the figures on the plates. He hailed from Tanjore and belonged to the Silpāchārya clan. Hence its interest.

Translation of the charter

Sri Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara
Destroyer of enemies
Destroyer of those who fail to carry out his orders
Indurāya Kaṇḍan
Mūvarāya Kaṇḍan
Conqueror of all countries he saw
One who will not yield the countries conquered
Destroyer of the army of the Turushkas
Remover of the infatuation of the Turushkas
The establisher of the three *maṇḍalas*
Rājādhirāja
Rāja Paramēsvara
Rāja mārtānda
Rāja gambīra
Rāja Devēndra
A friend to comrades
A foe to enemies
Ashtakula Nakula
Narabala to Virudu
Kōdaṇḍarāma
Rayakrishna of Kali age
One who saw the shores of (Lanka) Ilamturai, after capturing all lands
The punisher of evil doers
The protector of the virtuous
Wielder of chariots, elephants, horses and soldiers
Suradhira
One who removed the fear of Anantarāma
Mānuja Konḍa of 18 Koshtas (territorial division)
A *dhīra* in destroyer of his opponents
Chaturbujanganda vallaiyan
Establisher of Pāṇḍimaṇḍala
Protector of Chōḷamaṇḍala

The Navakoṭirāma, who saw Nāgaloka
A hero resembling Mattagaja
The protector of good people
Indurāya durandaran
Vijaya in archery
Vikramāditya in heroism
Manmatha in beauty
Hanumān in valour
Sugriva in command
Kubera in dharma
Hariscandra in truthfulness
Jayanta in wealth
Ādisesha in might
Karna in gifts
Nakula in the science of horse
The rising son
The ruler of the entire universe
The wielder of Sri in arms
The Lord of eastern, southern, western, and northern oceans
A hunter of elephants
(These are the titles of the ruler. Then the grant mentions a few Vijayanagara rulers followed by the Tanjore Nayak lines probably in the order of their succession)
Candra sekhara mahārāya
Somasekhara mahārāja
Vīrapratāpadēva mahārāyar
Mallikārjunadēva mahārāyar
Thirumalai Devamahārāyar
Kishṇadeva mahārāya
Achyutadeva mahārāya
Dēvamahārāya (probably Sadasiva)
Sevvappa Nāyaka
Achyutappa Nāyaka and

Raghunātha Nāyaka

While Raghunātha is ruling the country :-

Sri Mahālakshmi was born of Nectar when Sri Mahāvishnu in Srivaikunta, Dēvēndra and the thirty three crores of Dēvas churned the ocean for Nectar, using the mountain Mahāmēru as the churning rod, the primordeal snake Ādisesha as a rope and the earth as the receptacle. Vishnu married Mahālakshmi. As Thirukkannamangai is an important *sthala* (sacred place) in this earth, Vishnu married Lakshmi here. The thirty three thousand Gods had darshan of Amirthapushkkarini, the goddess named *Amirthavalli tāyār* and Kūdar Swami. When Rudra cut off one of the heads of Brahma, he was affilicted with *brahmahatti dosha* (having killed a Brāhmana) for 12000 years, and after bathing in this sacred place, worshipped Lord Vishnu who removed his *brahmahatti* sin. So Rudra, naming Bhaktarāviswami, Abhishekavalli and Darsana Pushkarini of Thirukkannamangai had darsan. In Krtayuga, Brahma worshipped here and taught Vedas. In the Tretāyuga, the sage Bhrigu, worshipped here and attained *mōksha.* In Dvāparayuga, Purūravas worshipped and attained liberation. In Kali era Sūrya worshipped here. Both Soma and Camarakandyar, performed tapas in Kasi, and being unable to attain Moksha, attained moksha in this sacred place.

(From now on the plate records the grant).

Rāja Mānya Rāja Srī

Achyuta Vijaya Raghunātha Nāyaka, who delighted ever in listening to the nectar like story of Sri Rāma, endowed this *Sarvamānya* gift (exempted from all taxes) to Lord Bhaktarāviswami a Bhaktavatsala (the abode of his devotees) of Thirukkannamangai, the most sacred place as enumerated above.

The grant was issued in the Saka era 1530; equivalent to Kali era. 4709. (1608 A.D.) in the year *Saumya*, month *Panguni*, date 18th, day Thursday, Sri Rāmanavami, *Pushyanakshatra Sōbha nāmayoga,* and *Balakhakara.* In this auspicious day, the land was gifted by pouring water, in the *Sannidhi,* for renovations, rearing flower gardens, burning lamps, for sacred offerings, and for sacred bath, to Goddess Abhishekavalli Amman, and Sri Bhaktarāviswami of Thirukkannamangai, the foremost among the 108 *Thiruppathis* (The lands gifted and the boundaries recorded are as follows).

1. Twenty velis of land
   a) to the north of Thirukkannamangai
   b) to the east of Kiltalai Sāthanguḍi
   c) to the south of Thiruvidaiyattam and
   d) to the north of Vedakonda in Evinainallur renamed Bhattarāvipeṭṭai

2. Four Velis of groves
   a) to the south of Bhattaārvippeṭṭai
   b) to the west of Pasalaivatta
   c) to the North of Perumpukalur canal and
   d) to the east of Thirukkannamangai in Sekkadivaṭṭam

3. Twelve Velis
   a) to the south of Vadakanda
   b) to the west of Thirunallur Agara land
   c) to the north of Kaiyikkilar Iruppu
   d) to the east of Bhattarāvippeṭṭai

   in the village of Thirunallur.

4. Six Velis in Mel Tadanerinapati
   Seven Velis in Jegannathanpalai and
   Five Velis in Attankarai Tottam.
   a) to the south of Thirukkannamangai
   b) to the west of Thirunallur.
   c) to the north of Odambi Aru and
   d) to the east of Ilangudi.

5. Six Velis of groves.
   a) to the north of Ilangudi
   b) to the east of Ammai Appan
   c) to the south of Nigarili Isvaram and
   d) to the west of Thirukkannamangai in Mukkanivattam.

Altogether sixty velis.

All the wet lands, dry lands, *māvaḍai*, *maravaḍai* groves, irrigation wells, living quarters etc. included in these sixty *velis* of lands, were gifted and the copper plate charter and the lithic record, were engraved and gifted to *jiyar*, so that he may enjoy and arrange for uninterrupted worship and sacred offerings so long as the sun and the moon last, and so long as the sky, hills and the river Kaveri last.

One who protects the dharma, will attain the sanctity of performing a crore of girl-gift, a crore land-gift, performed on the thirty three crores of sacred banks like the banks of the Ganges and the seven *mukti sthalās*, as enjoined in the following sacred texts. "Protection of a gift made by another, gives twice that of sanctity, than that of ones own gift.

The seven sacred places which give *moksha* are Ayodhya, Mathura, Kasi, Kanchi, Avantika, Puri and Dvāraka.

By making a gift one attains *Svarga* but by protection of others gift reaches the very feet of Lord Achyuta.

One who wrongs this gift, will incur the sins of :-

(a) Killing his father and mother.

(b) Killing a crore of Brahmanas.

(c) Killing a crore of women and.

(d) Killing a crore of cows, on the thirty three crore banks of sacred *thirthas* like the banks of the Ganges and the Seven *mukti kshetras*.

This charter was engraved by Venkitachala Āchāri, son of Lakshmana Āchāri of Tanjore. The grace of Mahālakshmi. Protection of Goddess Abhishekavalli and Bhaktarāviswami.

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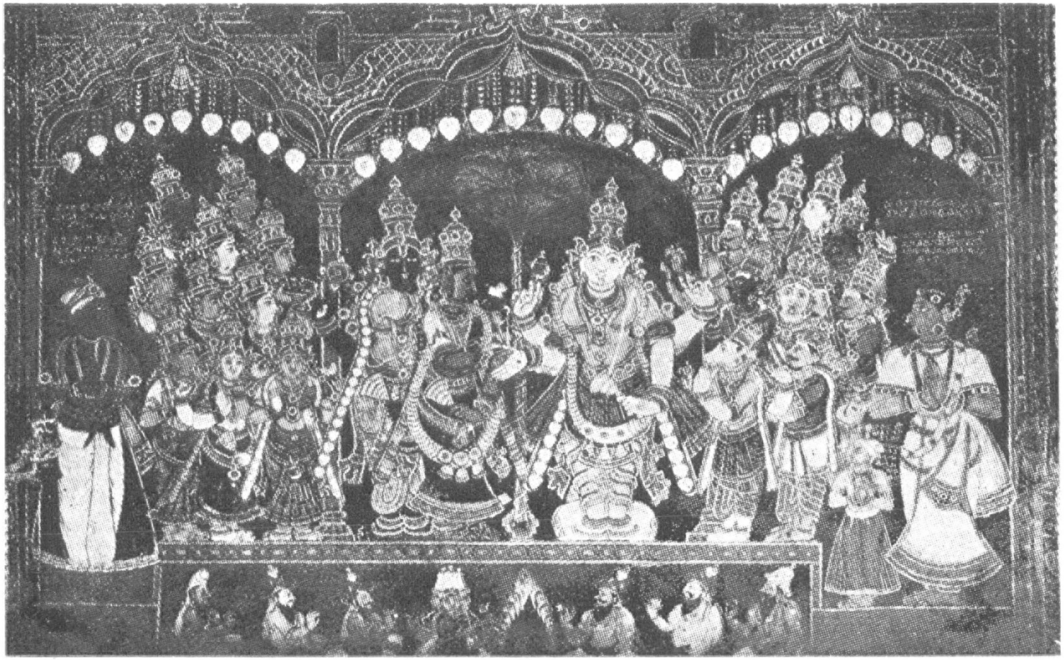
AN INSCRIBED PAINTING IN THE MADURAI TEMPLE

The earliest surviving painting in the Mīnākshi temple of Madurai, goes back to 17th century A.D., and is found in the ceiling of a part of the *Ūnjal maṇḍapa*. The painting is of historic interest and has not received the attention that it deserves. In the centre of the panel is shown, in a large scale, the marriage of Goddess Mīnākshi with Lord Sundarēsvara, the most famous and familiar episode connected with the temple of Madurai. Behind Mīnākshi is shown Lord Vishnu accompanied by Sridevi and Bhudevi and other female attendents, giving Goddess Mīnākshi in marriage to Lord Siva. Behind Siva are shown the eight *dikpālas*, the guardians of the quarters, and Nandikesvara. Below is shown Brahma performing the sacrificial rites.

Witnessing this celestial marriage are royal personages that need attention. Behind Siva is shown queen Mangammāl who ruled the Madura country, as a regent, towards the end of the 17th century A.D. Evidently the painting was executed by Rāni Mangammāl. The queen is portrayed, as a beautiful lady, dressed in a simple attire, standing in adoration. An inscription above her head, in Telugu and Tamil characters, read Mahārāja Mānyamahārāja Raja Sri, Mangammā. In front of her is shown a boy, her grandson, on whose behalf she ruled the country. The boy, about eight or nine years of age is also shown in adoration. An inscription above his head, reads Mahārāja Sri, Vijaya-Ranga Chokkanātha. Behind Goddess Mīnākshi, is a majestic figure wearing a turban. He is also shown in adoration. An inscription above his head in both Telugu and Tamil characters give his name as Dalavāy Rāmappayya.

According to 18th century records Rāni Mangammāl instituted the Ūnjal (swing) festival in the temple of Goddess Mīnākshi to be performed annually in the month of Āni. It is interesting that her contemporary portrait is found in the *Ūnjal maṇḍapa*. The portrait of Dalavāy Rāmap-



Painting portraying the marriage of Lord Sundarēsvara with goddess Mīnākshi-Madurai-The inscribed portrait of Mangammāl is seen to the left and Dalavāy Rāmappayyan to the right of the gods.

payyan figured in the painting is of historic interest. It is evident from the painting that he was a contemporary of Rāni Mangammāl and was next to her in command of the country. According to historians two eminent persons held the post of Dalavāy under Rāni Mangammāl. The first was the celebrated Dalavāy Narasappayya, who ably assisted her from the beginning of her rule till 1702, when he lost his life in a battle with the Sethupati. The second was Dalavāy Accayya who brought disrepute to Rāni Mangammāl towards the end of her reign. But Rāmappayya as a Dalavāy of Rāni Mangammāl has not been recorded so far.

It is well known that the famous Thirumalai Nāyak (1623-1659) had as his Dalavāy, one Rāmappayya who was the most able Dalavāy known to the Nāyak history. He fought many battles on behalf of Thirumalai Nāyak and brought victory in all fronts. He was celebrated in literature and one Rāmappayyan Ammānai, gives his exploits and achivements. But it is said that this Dalavāy Rāmappayya died before Thirumal Nāyak. Hence the portrait in the painting under reference could not be his and probably represents a descendant of him who served under Mangammāl as Dalavāy. This lost chapter of Madurai Nāyak history, that needs further research, is noticed from this painting.

Another lost chapter of Madurai history is also recorded from this painting. Bordering the central marriage panel are shown paintings in the cordinal directions. Except the Eastern one, the other three sides portray Goddess Mīnākshi, conquering the quarters. The panel in the east is of historic interest. It shows Goddess Mīnākshi in the centre seated on a jewelled throne (*ratna simhāsana*). Behind her are female attendants, probably dancing girls, attending on the Goddess. In front of the Goddess is a priest receiving a shaft like object from the Goddess. The dress of the priest, shows the manner in which the temple priests dressed in the 17th century. Behind him is shown a royal lady. From the bigger panel representing the marriage scene, it may be seen that this royal personage is none other than Rāni Mangammāl. It is identical to her inscribed portrait in every detail. Behind the standing queen are a few priests.

It may be mentioned that Hindu kings ruled their kingdoms as the servants of Gods. The land was ruled by the king, on behalf of the

presiding deity of the country. The most notable example is that of the rulers of Travancore, who called themselves Padmanabhadāsa. We know from records that Thirumal Nāyak ruled his kingdom in a similar manner. Thirumal Nāyak instituted a number of festivals in the temple of Mīnākshi. One such festival, celebrated the receipt of royal sceptre (*sengol*) from Goddess Mīnākshi. On the 8th day of the Chitra festival, Thirumal Nāyak used visit to the temple, and receive the sceptre from the hands of the deity and take it in procession to his palace, where the sceptre used to be placed on the throne for the whole day, and returned the next day, symbolising the rule of the Goddess. This practice seems to have continued even in the period of Rāni Mangammāl as evidenced from the present painting. The shaft like object received by the priest for being handed over to the Queen is nothing but the royal sceptre. Further as Rāni Mangammāl is portrayed as receiving the sceptre suggests that she ruled the country as a full fledged independent sovereign and not as a regent, as is surmised hitherto.

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A ROYAL NIBANDHA

Yāgnavalkhya directs kings to issue written documents when a land is gifted or a *nibandha* is created. These documents are intended for the recognition and guidance of future rulers.

दत्वा भूमिं निबन्धं वा कृत्वा लेख्यं तु कारयेत्
आगामि भद्र नृपति परिज्ञानाय पार्थिव : ॥

पटे वा ताम्रपट्टे वा स्वमुद्रोपरिचिह्नितम्
अभिलेख्यात्मनो वंश्यानात्मानं च महीपति :
प्रतिग्रह परिमाणं दानछेदोपवर्णनम्
स्वहस्त काल संपन्नं शासनं कारयेत् स्थिरम् ॥

Writing down the details of the gift, on a *paṭa* or copper plate, the king should record the history of his family and his own exploits and issue the record with his own royal seal. Yāgnavalkhya states *pratigraha parimānam dāna-c-chedopavarnamam.* The *mitakhshara,* takes the word *pratigraha* to stand for *Nibandha.*

प्रतिगृह्यते इति प्रतिग्रह : निबन्ध : तस्य रूपकादि परिमाणं

A good number of copper plate charters are known dealing with gifts and as such are the *dānapatra* class of grants. Two copper plate charters of the Pandyas, belonging to the *Vyavahāra nirnaya* class are discussed in this book earlier.

The Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chola, belongs to a different class of charters. It relates to a *Rājasāsana* creating a *nibandha* and is a 10th century classical example of the *nibandha,* mentioned by Yāgnavalkhya.

Yagnavalkya Rajadharma 13-318.

The tamil portion of the grant that gives the details of the *nibandha* is discussed below.

While the ruler Uttamachola was seated in the Chitramaṇḍapa, south of the Kacchipēdu palace (in Kancheepuram) the royal officer, Choḷamūvendavelan, requested the king te create a *nibandha* to the Lord (Vishnu) of Ūraha in Kacchipedu. The temple was realising certain revenue, but the expenditure heads were not created or sanctioned. The officer made two specific requests. (1) to order the expenditure heads (here in called the *nibandha*) and (2) to order the annual auditing of accounts of this temple. The revenues realised were the following.

1. Revenue from tax on *Kol-nirai kūli* of Kacchipedu.
2. Revenue from tax on *Kāl aḷavu kūli,*
3. Proceeds realised from the lands bought in the name of the Lord Vishnu, in Kacchipēdu and Tundunukkacheri
4. The interests realised from various loans taken from this temple.

The *nibandha* was sought to be created for the above funds. The royal officer requsted that two cheris of Kacchipēdu may be ordered to audit the accounts. The king ordered the requesting officer, Mūvēndavēlan, himself to create the *nibandha* and directed the two cheris Kambulanpādi aud Atimānappāḍi to verify the accounts annually.

The lands bought in the name of the temple are detailed, so also the investments. The investments were in the nature of loans given to some of the village assemblies near Kanchipuram. The loans were given during the 100 years preceding the present charter. So the charter specifies that the interest was calculated on the loans, depending upon the number of years with reference to the original documents written on stone. The loans so mentioned are as follows:

1. In the 22nd year of a Parakesarivarman (probably Vijayālaya 877 A.D.) the assemblies of Kuram and Arugar Perumbakkam received 250 *Kalanju* and agreed to measure 500 *kāḍi* of paddy as interest.
2. During the same year the village Uḷaiyur received 50 *Kalanju* and agreed to pay 150 *kāḍi* of paddy.

3. In the 9th year of Pallava Kampavarman, Olukkaipakkam received 24 *Kalanju* and agreed to pay one *Kalanju* and four *manjādi* of gold as interest.

Obviously the interests were calculated and the amount realised and the expenditure had now sanctioned by the creation of this nibandha.

" With line 72 commences a fresh grant made in the 16th year of Parakesarivarman (Uttamachola) to the temple of Uragan at Kachchippedu for maintaining the Sittirai-tiruviḷa festival of that god. For this purpose 200 *kalanju* of gold were deposited with the residents of Kambulanpādi, Atimānappādi Kanjagappadi and Erruvalichcheri on perpetual interest of 30 *kalanju* for one year at the rate of one *pilavu* on each *kalanju* per month. This money (i.e., 30 *kalanju*) being fully adjusted for expenses detailed in lines 81 to 89 the lamp-holders for the festival and flag hoisters had to be secured by the residents of thefour quarters mentioned above (free of cost).

Lines 89 to 100 register a few other items of expense apparently in connection with the same festival. It is stated that in the 18th year of Parakesarivarman, who took Madirai and Ilam (i. e., Parantaka I), a concession had been granted viz. exemption from municipal taxes, to the residents who had newly settled down in the quarter called Soḷaniyamam (of Kachchippedu) in consideration of their giving certain fixed quantities of oil and rice to the temple of Ūragam which the Tōlāchchēriyār alias Ēlākkaiyar the former residents of this quarter were regularly contributing, but had discontinued on account of their decline. This concession was now (i.e., in the 16th year) ratified by king (Uttama-Chola). It was further ordered that the residents of this quarter viz. Soḷaniyamam must provide also an accountant who would be given every day from the temple treasury two *kuruni* of paddy and every year two *kalanju* of gold.

According to lines 100 to 103 a further grant of 23 *kalanju* was made to the residents in the three Saiva quarters (Sankarappāḍi) of Kachchippeḍu viz. Ranajayappāḍi, Ekavīrappāḍi and Vāmana Sankarappāḍi in order to maintain a perpetual lamp in the temple and to burn twilight lamps from the oil supplied by the residents of Soḷaniyamam mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Other miscellaneous items of provision (ln. 103 to 108) included the cost of the sacred festivals of *Uttarāyana-Samkrānti* and Chitra-Vishu, the organization of the *gosthi* of devotees etc. The Annual supervision committee and the residents of Erruvalichcheri and Kanjagoppāḍi were required to check the accounts at the end of each festival, while the residents of these two quarters were to supply also the watchman of the temple (ln. 110 ff) (The city assembly) was further entrusted with the authority of appointing the managers for carrying out the temple business, the watchman and the accountant and of exempting these from payment of all municipal taxes (ln. 113 ff) The document was drawn up by Nārppattennāyiramangalādittan, an arbitrator (*madhyastha*) of Vīrappāḍi a quarter of Kachchippeḍu (ln. 119 ff)."[1]

Thus the Madras Museum plates of Uttamachola is a clear example of a *nibandha* created by the ruler. The charter also gives distinquishing epithets to two Parakesaris—one is refered to as Parakesari, the conqueror of Madurai and Ilam, which is an obvious reference to Parantaka and two, another Parakesari to whom no attribute is given. It is evident that these two are different kings and that the latter is Vijayalaya the founder of the chola dynasty as suggested by the Govt. epigraphist [2] The other point of interest that has escaped attention is the names of various quarters of Kanchipuram refered to in this epigraph. Among the names mentioned the following, Atimānappadi, Ekavirappadi, Ranajayappadi. and Vāmana Sankarappādi deserve special mention. Ekavirā, Ranajaya Atimāna and Vāmana are the titles of the Pallava ruler, Rājasimha the builder of Kailasanātha temple of Kanchi. These titles are found in many of his monuments including the ones at Kanchi and Mamallapuram. The names Ekavirappadi, Atimānapadi, etc. were established during his reign and they have continued to remain active over 285 years from circa 700 A.D. is interesting.

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1. Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chola S.I.I. vol. III, pt. III.
2. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam considers the transactions recorded in the Madras Museum plates of Uttamachola, as confusing, in his 'Kanchipuram in early South Indian history,' p. 223. There is nothing confusing in the record which is excellantly drafted.

THE SIVA - VISHNU TEMPLE AT THIRUMEYYAM

Thirumeyyam is a well-known little town in Pudukottai region. It is a Vaishnava *kshetra,* haloed by the songs of Thirumangai Āḷwar, who lived in the 8th century A.D. But much earlier to him, two cave temples—one dedicated to Siva and the other to Vishnu—were excavated probably in the 7th century A.D. These two cave temples—the Saivite and the Vaishnavite caves—were adjacent to each other, having a common front.

The Siva temple has the *garbhagraha* scooped on the lateral wall with a *mandapa* in the front. On the other wall of the *mandapa,* facing the *garbhagraha,* is found Siva as *Lingōdbhava,* shown as a pillar of fire with flames emanating from the sides. In the middle is seen Siva emerging from the shaft of fire. Flanking the entrance of the *garbhagraha,* are the *Dvārapālas,* one representing Nandi and the other probably, Mahākāla. Both are fine representations of figure-sculpture of the 7th century A.D. In the middle of the *maṇḍapa* is seen the rock-cut sculpture of Siva's mount, the bull. At the back wall of the cave is an inscription in Pallava *grantha* characters of 7th century A.D., reading *parivādini.* On the outer facade, an inscription in the same script is engraved. The original inscription was a great musical treatise of 7th century detailing the musical notations like *Sādhāri, Pancama, Gāndhārpancama, Kausikimadhyama,* etc.

From an inscription it is learnt that this treatise was composed by a King named Gunasēna, a disciple of Rudrāchārya. The king is said to have composed this treatise for the benefit of his students. Unfortunately this whole treatise was chiselled off in the 13th century for writting another inscription.

The vishnu cave was designed on a much larger and magnificent scale. Vishnu is shown reclining on Ananta, the five-hooded cobra. The entire attendant group of Anantasāyi Vishnu portrayed vigorously. At the feet of the Lord are shown the twin *asuras,* Madhu and Kaitaba fleeing

unable to bear the fuming flames of the Cobra. With their back. turned, and the massive clubs now becoming a mere burdon they run as fast as they could to escape the wrath. At the back wall are shown Brahma, issuing from the navel of the Lord, the five *āyudhapurushas,* and the sages including Nārada and Tumburu. Narada is shown playing the *makara yāzh* and the other the *Tambura.* A dwarfish figure wears Roman helmet. By the side of the reclining Lord is shown Garuda, Bhudevi and Mārkandeya. This figure of Vishnu is one of the most fascinating and majestic Anantasāyi forms that one could see in Tamil Nadu.

It is interesting to note that both the Siva and the Vishnu caves are excavated in the same place side by side, which shows the catholicity of the religious systems of that period. This is not the only instance of two such cave temples existing side by side. A number of other caves excavated in tho same pericd, and in the same region bear a similar feature. Curiously this very abode of tolerance witnessed a bitter religious feud in 12th century, which led to the partition of the caves into two different temples.

The Vishnu cave temple was renovated in 9th century by a lady, Perumbidugu Perundēvi, the mother of Videlvidugu Vilupperadiyaraiyan, a local chieftain. The nature of the renovation is not specified but the record is found on a parapet slab now lying loose. It is also not known whether the renovation was made to the Siva shrine or the Vishnu shrine. At any rate in the 9th century both the shrines had a common facade and probably both the shrines benefited by this pious act.

The next historical record coming from this temple refers to events that took place nearly 400 years later (in 13th century). This was the time when religious intolerance was beginning to show its ugly head.

Settlement of Dispute

The Choḷas and the Pāṇḍyas lost control over the region which passed under the Hoysala ruler Virasomesvara who was ably assisted in the conquest by his commander, Ravideva Daṇḍanāyaka. Ravideva's brother-in-law, Appanna Daṇḍanāyaka, settled the disputes between the Saivites and the Vaishnavites and arranged for regular worship in the temples. The territorial agricultural guilds called Nāḍus, the commercial

guilds called Nagaram, the village assemblies and also the regional police chief called *Nāḍu Kākkum Araiyar* were participants in and signatories to the proceedings.

The other participants to the deliberations were the following: the Saivite Priests (Rudra-Mahesvaras) of the entire territorial division—Revana Mudaliar of Pāṇḍināḍu — the Mudaliar, who regulated dues to the royal palace, in the territorial division; the Vaishnavites; the Saivites and Vaishnavites of Thirumeyyam; the Saivite priests of the Tirukkodungunram temple of Malai Nāḍu and Nārāyanan Kumārabhattan *alias* Tiruppāndāsa, of Thirukkoshtiyur, who was the adjudicator of the Vaishnavas of the 18 territorial divisions.

From the list of participants mentioned above, it is clear that it was a great assembly which went into the disputes. Not only the Saivites of the particular temple but of the entire territory, were present. So also the Vaishnavites. Besides these disputing factions, the fact that secular bodies like the agricultural guild, commercial guild, the village assemblies and the police chief also participated showed the magnitude of the enquiry. The proceedings were conducted in the very presence of Appanna Daṇḍanāyaka. The presence of this royal authority helped conclusion of the necessary settlement. The document is an elaborate record detailing the settlement, clause by clause which included the apportionment of landed properties to both the temples, bifurcation of the temple premises by the erection of a partition wall, etc. Each temple was allotted a well and the agreement stipulated that if images were found during desilting of the wells, they must be handed over to the respective temples.

The inscription is also interesting in another way. The various religious sects seem to have organised themselves into territorial units and had their own leaders to enquire into their disputes. The Thiruppāndāsa is mentioned as a *Samaya anusandāna,* of the Srivaishnavas of the 18 *nāḍus.* It is not known whether this office was by election, or appointment by any religious head or by the king. The word in the inscription is *samainta,* usually used in the sense of mutual agreement; obviously some form of religious control was exercised by such officers. The Thirumeyyam Srivaishnavas thus had connection with Thirukkoshtiyūr, and the Saivites with Thirukkodungundram in Malai Nāḍu.

It was while recording this inscription that the musical treatise mentioned earlier was said to have been erased. Not long after this settlement the Vaishnava priest was accused of acquiring the proceeds of the Saivite land. The Saivites represented the matter to the village assembly of Thirumeyyam. The agricultural guild, the commercial guild and the village assemblies met and enquired into the dispute. It was found that the Vaishnava priest, had misappropriated the land of the Siva temple as complained. The land was restored to the Siva temple.

Among the inscriptions one states that the villagers of Thirumeyyam sold the police rights of the village for cash of 200 to one Meivan Kadappillai, a Valaya of Kuruntanpirai. The transaction took place in the 45th year of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. The name of the coin is called *Villāl Viḻithurungum Perumāl gulaikai.* Another sale of the same nature, but of a different village is also recorded in the Vishnu temple. An interesting record of the 13th century, dated in the 5th regnal year of Sundara Pāṇḍya refers to a father conferring proprietary rights on his son over certain lands, houses and slaves. Sīrāladevan Munaiyadaraiyan of Melur conferred *Kaniātchi* right and gave houses and slaves to his son, Sīrāladeva. Among the slaves gifted were both men and women most of them being related. Another record in the 5th year of Pāṇḍya Parākrama is equally interesting. One Munaiyadaraiyan Makkanāyan married Kānainiyāl, the sister of one Piravikkunallār. This Munaiyadaraiyan had to pay 200 *panams* (cash) to the girl's family towards marriage expenses. As he had no money, he sold the proprietary rights to the girl's brother. In the 12th century, a commander Irunjiraiyān, gifted 10 *kasus* for the Siva temple. In the reign of Krishnadēva Rāya, in 16th century, the royal commander, Vīra Narasingarāya Nāyaka, apportioned the land between the Vishnu and Sīva temple, Vishnu temple getting 3/5 of the land and the Siva temple 2/5th.

Evidently, from very early period, the Vishṇu temple has been claiming importance. Many shrines and structures were added later to this temple. The 13th century inscription itself refers to two Vishnu shrine—one, Anantasāyi cave and the other the shrine of Vishnu in a standing posture. But one should never fail to see the magnificent Anantasāyi sculpture not only for its antiquity but also for its grandeur as a fine example of Pāṇḍya art.

SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE AS AN EMPLOYER

Temples in South India were built as acts of devotion, to mark significant victories, to commemorate the dead and above all for the fulfilment of the desires of the people. An inscription of the Pallava King Rājasimha at Mamallapuram mentions that he caused the temple to be made for the fulfilment of the desires of his subjects (*Prajānam Ishṭasidyar tam*). Besides being a religious centre, South Indian temple was a centre of learning, art and social activities. To fulfil its various functions it had to employ a number of persons. As an employer, it set a high standard in public life, as can be gleaned from many inscriptions inscribed on the walls of the temple. As a model employer the temple prescribed proper qualifications for serving in various capacities and took great care in the welfare of its workers by providing clothing, food and housing facilities by arranging proper education and establishing hospitals for taking care of the sick and the disabled.

The temple management was in the hands of the assembly called *Mūla parushai* or *Thānathārs*. The members of the assembly held the post as honorary, either on hereditary basis or were elected by the village assemblies for their outstanding social conduct. The administration of the temple at Tiruvidaimarudur was managed by the village assembly (*sabha*), the mercantile guild (*nagaram*) and the temple priests (*Dēvakanmis*). Even the army when not engaged in war undertook to administer the temple, the Tiruvālīswaram temple providing the best example. The service in the temple assemblies did not carry any pay. This assembly co-opted the priests, the treasurers, the accountants and other temple servants in the administration of the temple. The Government officials also attended the proceedings.

The temple servants who were under regular employment were the administrators, the ritualists, the art and craftsmen, watch and ward and other sundries. The administrators were the treasurers who looked after

the temple treasury and the accountants who kept regular registers (*Bandāra Puttakam*) to make necessary entries regarding income and expenditure, payment in kind and cash to its workers. The brahmins who performed the rituals like the sacred bath, *pūja*, *archana*, etc., were called Sivabrāhmanas in Saivite temples and Srivaishnavas in the Vishnu temples. They were assisted by those brougt the sacred water, the cooks and those who attended to minor works of the rituals. The musical troupe consisted of singers of Sanskrit and Tamil hymns, the pipe players, the drummers of both bigger and small drums, the lute players, the conch blowers, *pakka vādyars* and musicians besides a number of dancing girls. These musicians and dancers, often served as troupes under the cammand of a leader. There were also dramatic troupes attached to the temple which enacted dramas on festive occasions. The skilled workers appointed to the temple included potters to supply new pots to the sacred kitchen everyday, washermen, barbers, tailors, jewel-stitchers who had to stitch various ornaments of the idols, braziers for making vessels, carpenters and goldsmiths. Besides this, there were others who attended to other works as sprinkling water, bringing flowers, making garlands, holding parasols and festoons when the deities were taken out in procession. Schools and colleges were also attached to the temple for imparting higher education and teachers and scholars were also in the employ of the temple. Regular watchmen to keep watch over the temple properties were also on the role. The number of workers employed in the temple varied according to the importance of the temple.

The work in the temple was to a large extent hereditary but that did not confer the right to work without adequate qualifications. Except minor works where any qualification or higher study was not needed as in the case of a water sprinkler or watchman, emphasis was laid on due qualification for doing the important works of the temple. The Madras Museum plates of Uttamachola mention that Nambi alone (one versed in agamas) should be appointed to perform the ritual and in the event of one not available a Vedic scholar was recommended. Rāja Rāja, the builder of the Great Temple of Tanjore, stipulated strict adherence to proper qualifications for the servants employed at the Rāja Rājēsvara temple. Besides general qualification, their land, capital and connections were also taken into consideration, for being appointed as treasurers, probably meant as a measure of security. Even in the case of dancing girls, proper qualifica-

tion was prescribed. In the case of teaching staff, the qualifications were more specific as in the case of a teacher who was appointed at Aniyur to teach in the local temple, and who was expected to be well-versed in the Vēdas and be able to teach *vyākarana, alankāra* and the 20 chapters of *mīmāmsa.*

Many inscriptions throw valuable light on the mode of appointment to the temple duties, the temple of Rāja Rāja supplying the best example. As mentioned already the duties were to a large extent hereditary. When new temples were built-a great number of them were built in the Pallava and Chola period-workers well-known for their proficiency in other temples were tranferred to the new temples. For the post of treasurers, accountants and brahmacharis (*Assistants*), the village *sabhas* were asked to supply duly qualified persons. In the case of persons who were not qualified, the persons themselves were expected to appoint a duly qualified individual to do the work. The sons of the employees and the relations were given the first preference. In the event of death, migration or otherwise, the employee's immediate successor had the right to take up the duties provided he was duly qualified for the post. Rāja Rāja trasnferred a number of dancing girls to Rāja Rājēsvaram temple from other temple establishments. To these persons he allotted shares as allowances. Instead of those who would die or emigrate, the nearest relations of that persons were to receive allowances and do the work. If the nearest reliations were not qualified themselves they were to select other qualified persons to let these do the work and receive the allowance. This order is found engraved in the Big Temple of Tanjore. That this was not merely in letters but was actually put into practice is noticed from other inscriptions from the same place. One Kīrtimātāndan who belonged to Parāntaka Kōnkavāl was appointed to the temple and was allotted three-fourth of the temple shares. It was stipulated that if he should die, his younger brother Kīrthi Kilai Thāngi should receive the allowance. In another instance, certain Subramania Kūthan alias Sembian Vīnai Ādittan was appointed to play the bute and in the event of his death, the son of his paternal uncle who has married his daughter, was to receive the allowance. Such stipulations were carefully recorded and carried out. The successor of Rāja Rāja reviewed the working, after two generations and ordered an allowance to Rāja Rāja Pallavaraiyan who measured the paddy in the same temple, an allowance which was

permanently enjoyed by his grand-father. The same inscription records that since one person who previously used to measure paddy was dead, one share was assigned to his son and to his family under condition that he should also measure the contents of up country treasuries belonging to the temple. This clearly indicates the interest of the institution in the service securities of its employees and their relations.

Payments for the work at the temples were mainly in kinds of grains, the quantity being decided at the time of the grant or varied according to the growth of the grain in the land gifted for such purposes. Allowances were also made for clothing in cash amounting to a few gold coins per annum. Some of the workers like the cook, watchmen and others were also given measured quantity of food per day which included rice, curry, ghee etc. The lands gifted for a particular service in the temple, were cultivated by tenants who were expected to measure the quantity of grain stipulated to the temple servants. At the Rāja Rāja temple of the Tanjore the workers like the *brahmacharis* received their payment of paddy and *kāsu* at the city treasury of the Lord, while the treasurers and accountants received their allowance at the upcountry treasury. This seems to effect a check on the mode of payment. As mentioned earlier some of the villages were expected to supply watchmen to the temple and in such case the inhabitants of the villages themselves were expected to pay the paddy and the payments were effected in the villages themselves. Besides the regular payment, the watchmen were also entitled for daily allowance (*padi*) which were paid to them every year out of the tax due, by the inhabitants of the village.

There was not much disparity among the workers in the payment of wages, the responsibility and skill forming the main consideration for higher wages and the caste had no say in the matter. In the Rāja Rāja temple of Tanjore, 200 Kalams of paddy was paid per year to the head-accountants, astrologers, dramatists and the dance-masters. The tailor, the master-carpenter, the jewel stitcher and the beater of small drums (*Udukkai*), the singers of Sanskrit and Tamil hymns got 150 *kalams* a year. The master-goldsmith, barber, washermen, master potter, water sprinkler, parasol holder, conch players, the dancing girls and the watchmen got 100 *kalams* each, while those who assisted the above professions were paid

75 *kalams* each. The dramatists and his troupe who is to enact dramas on Vaikasi festival were paid 120 *kalams* a year. In the other months the troupe was probably free to enact dramas at other centres. There were among the servants who took vows to serve the temple permanently and such servants were paid higher rates as an incentive for dedicating their life for the service of the temple. The reciters of Tiruvāimoḷi at Ennayiram and Tirupadiyam at Tanjore were paid twice as that of brahmins who recited Vēdas and Stōtras at Tiruvorriyur at the same time. At another place, the reciter of Tiruvāimōḷi got 1½ times higher than the officiating priest. Among the teaching profession attached to the temple, the Professor of Vēdānta got about 400 *kalams*, the maximum share so far known. The teachers of Mīmāmsa and Vyākarana were paid about 300 *kalams* while others got about 100 kalams of paddy a year. Since the teacher of the Vēdānta was barred from accepting cash payment by tradition, all the others except him, were paid in gold coins for each course of study. Though this reflects the general trend in the mode of payment, in some cases, the availability of the land and the capacity of the donors, to a large extent, controlled the rate of payment.

Mention has already been made to the temple servants being co-opted in the temple administration. The temple servants were also co-opted for fixing emoluments of the serviee. The *sabha* of the Ūr, the Sivabramins, Rudragana who sang the sacred hymns before God and the servants of temple including *Uvachan* met at the temple of Tiruvāmāthur and decided the emoluments of the temple servants. "The presence at the meeting of the servants whose emoluments were being fixed implies that this was not done without some regard for their wishes in the matter, a typical instance of the elastic and humane character of economic arrangements of the time".

As has been mentioned earlier, the temple took care to provide proper housing facilities to its servants and there are a number of references to such houses given to its servants. Rājarāja built new colonies and allotted one house for each dancing girl, - there were 400 dancing girls their names, their house numbers and their streets are also recorded. The schools attached to the temple catered for proper higher education of their servants and others. There are number of instances where the *vaidya vritti*, i. e., the endowments for physicians, were made and these

physicians attached to temple were to take care of the temple servants, the students and others. Mention is made of hospitals called *ātulasālai* attached to the temple of Tanjāvur. Tirumukkūdal and Kunnathūr. The hospital at Tirumukkūdal had a physician, a surgeon, a compounder and nurses and there were provisions for fifteen beds for the treatment of the inmates of the colleges and the servants of the temple. Provisions made for storing the medicine, the diseases that were treated, regulation of diet etc. are some of the interesting information mentioned in this inscription.

An interesting dispute among the workers of the temple is recorded in Tiruvorriyur temple which throws light on the reeonciliation effected by the temple authorities. The inscription is dated in the 5th year of Rājanārayana Sambuvarāya, Saka 1265 and we are informed that the trustees of the temple of Tiruvorriyur found that a number of *Padiyilār* who were doing duty in accordance with the previous decision arrived at in the time of Sundara Pāndya had either died or had been reduced to straightened circumstances in life. Thereupon they appointed some *Ishabhattaḷiyār* to assist *Padiyilār* and exempted the *Dēvaraḍiār* from doing certain duties such as cleaning with cowdung, cleaning the rice required for rice offerings, etc. which they used to do before this arrangment came into force. It was also settled that the dance in the shrine of the Goddess and the waiting upon the Goddess with chowries were assigned to the *Dēvaraḍiyārs* and *Padiyilārs*. The *Dēvaraḍiyārs* carried everywhere the plates while the *Ishabhattaliyār* displayed the *agamārgam* and *varikkōlam*. When the *Padiybār* played *sokkam* and performed the dance the *Ishabhattaliyār* supplied vocal music. 25 years later, it is noted that the *Padiyilār*, *Ishabhattaliyārs* and *Dēvaraḍiyārs* had struck work in the temple and that previous attempts at reconciling their differences by the Mudaliyars of Chidambaram and subsequently by the trustees, had proved abortive. The temple officials made enquiries for the cause of the strike and having called together a meeting of the *Srīrudras*, Srī *Mahēsvaras*, *Ishabhattaliyars* and *Dēvaraḍiyārs* and settled a procedure in the matter of order to be followed by them in the temple service. However, three year later, the dispute was again taken up, more representatives than the previous occasion gathered including trustees and district representatives and the question was amicably settled. The settlement of the whole question proved the reconciliatory approach to such disputes among the temple servants.